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MEETING OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE PARTIES AND MOVEMENTS Participating in the Celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution

Speeches made at the meeting

Moscow, November 4-5, 1987

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At the meeting

On November 4 and 5, 1987, by agreement with the parties and movements that had sent their delegations to celebrations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, a meeting of representatives of these parties and movements took place in Moscow. In all, there were 178 delegations.

The participants unanimously agreed that Mikhail Gorbachev, head of the CPSU delegation, should be chairman. Sixty-three delegates spoke at the two-day meeting, and other sixty-four submitted their speeches for publication in the daily **Pravda**.

The APN Publishers offer a book containing the speeches.

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General Secretary of the Communist Party of Argentina

Athos FAVA

Dear comrades and friends,

Please, accept fraternal greetings from Argentine Communists.

We are happy to be here, in the country of Lenin, taking part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the revolution which ushered in a most profound transformation in the history of mankind. This celebration is taking place at a time when the renovation begun in all spheres of Soviet society while continuing the cause of the October Revolution, lends greater strength to the ideals of socialism all over the world.

We express our satisfaction with and understanding of the responsibility and importance of the present dialogue for which representatives of diverse trends and forces have arrived, sharing common views on the most crucial issues. And above all, the conviction that it is necessary to save the world in order to change it, and change the world in order to save it.

The Decree on Peace, the first decree issued by Soviet power 70 years ago, demonstrated to the world that socialism combined the cause of social and national emancipation with the cause of peace. We hold the view that the peaceloving policy of the USSR is a direct continuation of the peaceful coexistence mapped out by Lenin, which corresponds to the present conditions of the nuclear age, when mankind needs so much its belief in its own immortality. We share this goal of primary importance.

This is why we welcome the Soviet-American agreement, as a result of this policy, aimed at scrapping the two types of nuclear weapons: medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is the first step along the way to effective disarmament. This is a triumph of reason, a victory for the most vital interests of humanity. But sound thinking is blazing its trail in a struggle, by asserting humanistic and constructive values in a combat against the ideas of imperialism, whose aggressive nature continues to be the main source of the military threat and the motive force of the arms race.

The aggressive nature of imperialism is manifested in different forms, although it begins to realize—and this is very important—that war is unthinkable, for there will be neither victors nor vanquished. The desire to bleed socialism white by forcing it to engage in an unbridled arms race, and the illusion of reaching a superiority which could enable the United States to dictate its conditions to the world, have engendered the SDI programme.

Of similar nature is the strategy of brinkmanship, when the Reagan administration is taking part in local conflicts, the so-called conflicts of low intensity. Two examples: recently Caspar Weinberger said that his government would not cooperate with the USSR in the efforts to normalize the

situation in the Gulf, for, as he admitted, the American plans were aimed at "stemming the growth of Soviet influence in the region". In our subcontinent, the Reagan administration is sabotaging the Esquipulas plan for a peaceful settlement of the Central American conflict, lavishly subsidizing the interventionist actions of the hired contras in Nicaragua, and trying to suppress the El Salvador revolution.

Thus, imperialism does not, and could not, change its aggressive nature, as was said recently by Mikhail Gorbachev. What actions should then be taken in this dramatic situation, with due account of new criteria and new thinking? We proceed from the premise that there are possibilities to influence imperialism with the help of the broad actions of the popular forces and governments, and neutralize its most aggressive intentions. In this way, Argentine Communists place great hopes on the agreements reached by the Central American governments in Esquipulas and supported by the Contadora Group and the Support Group. We highly value and support the actions of the "Group of Six", the non-aligned countries and all other actions aimed at isolating the warmongers, be it Star Wars or "conflicts of low intensity", for we are aware that there can be no seats of tension in this interconnected and interdependent world capable of being properly controlled.

We Communists, just as all other Argentine revolutionary and progressive-minded forces, recognize our government's participation in the "Group of Six", the Support Group of the Contadora Group, and in the non-aligned movement. We also support the demand for sovereignty and the dismantling of the NATO military base on the Falkland Islands, the demilitarization of the South Atlantic, and the removal of nuclear weapons from there. Apart from the bases on the Falkland Islands, the Easter Island and in other regions being a survival of colonialism, they are also part of the US global strategy, which includes the SDI programme.

While firmly supporting this premise, we note at the same time that the policy of the present Argentine government is not fully in line with the policy of complete independence, Latin American unity against imperialism, and the policy of peace and non-alignment pursued by our party. The Argentine government's tendency to put up with the Reagan administration's blackmail and pressure threatens the positive aspects of its foreign policy. We Argentine Communists are firm supporters of a broad unity in working to achieve the most crucial aims, and we are also convinced that only those who connect the struggle for peace with the struggle for emancipation are consistent fighters both for peace and for emancipation.

This criterion has theoretical and practical importance now that imperialism is forcing the shackling formulas of the International Monetary Fund and credit banks on our countries, when it is bringing pressure to bear with a view to changing the inter-American military system under its

aegis, leaving for the local armies a newly-defined Pretorian role in "conflicts of low intensity", when it is advocating restrictions of democracy for the popular masses in such countries as Argentina, or is supporting such dictatorial regimes as in Chile or Paraguay. In doing so imperialism not only tries to block the road to a genuine political, social and national freedom of our peoples. It is striving to prevent any manifestation of the independence of Latin American governments either in the question of peace, or in any other global question of today, as, for instance, the indebtedness of Latin America and the entire Third World, for that matter.

The world as a whole is interconnected and interdependent, just as its major problems are. During the past five years about 245 billion dollars were drained from Latin America in the form of interest payments, outflow of capital, and through other channels of dependence. These means are used by imperialism for financing the arms race. So it is not accidental that the United States has refused to attend the recent UN conference on disarmament and development. In contrast to this we hear of the well-founded Soviet proposal to set up an International Fund for development and financing with the help of the resources to be obtained from the genuine arms reduction.

And finally, in several days' time a conference of the armies of American countries under the aegis of the United States will be held in Argentina, whose main subject will be the "anti-rebel struggle". To fight for peace in the present conditions means to fight against the survivals of former imperialist practices and manifest anti-imperialist solidarity. In conclusion we can say that in our region the primary task is to secure peace in order to ensure the advancement to liberation, and to fight for liberation in order to secure peace. As far as these two aspects are concerned, the main thing is to try one's best to learn to combine the scope and depth of struggle, realism and continuity.

At this widely representative gathering we Argentine Communists reaffirm our commitment to apply all our strength and will to solve this task.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Greece

Harilaos FLORAKIS

Dear comrades,

In our view, the presence in this hall of so many representatives of different ideological trends coming forward in favour of social progress signifies recognition of the world historical significance of the October Revolution for shaping the modern world and for the great gains of our epoch.

We believe that this meeting will be a stimulus to improving a regular exchange of opinions, dialogue and cooperation between political forces which despite the differences between them are fighting for peace, democracy and national and social liberation.

The radical ideas expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev the day before yesterday on the role of internatinal cooperation in the settlement of global issues facing mankind, primarily of those concerning peace, reflect the hopes of the peoples. Those ideas are neither utopian nor refer to some mythical uncertain future. Deep roots now objectively exist in the world which make them realistic. In our interdependent world, with its accelerating internationalization of the economy and politics not a single power can with impunity ignore the objective requirements for more stable and guaranteed peaceful coexistence and international cooperation. Naturally, imperialism is strongly against this course. However, these radical peace-oriented ideas can prompt hundreds of millions of people throughout the world to take part in movements and the struggle, to support peaceful initiatives and to bring forth tendencies towards the rapprochement of the most broad forces of the present-day world: states, parties, movements and religious and cultural organizations.

The linkage of the disarmament process with development, with the solution of the problems of malnutrition, indebtedness, nature conservation, health protection, education, information, and respect for, and broadening of, the human rights can awaken the consciousness and feelings of the ever broader masses of the working people and to raise them for the struggle for peace. The struggle for peace in the broader sense is connected not only with the right to existence but the right to a better, peaceful, more humane and democratic life.

Dear comrades, in the opinion of the Communist Party of Greece the struggle for the creation of a universal security system is not only a vital necessity but also a component part of the struggle for social transformations, for socialism.

We are fully aware that in the nuclear epoch the ties between the class and general human requirements and interests are becoming increasingly deeper.

Conscientious class forces consider the struggle for peace to be a task of primary importance. Such an approach testifies to their progressive class character.

The averting of a nuclear catastrophe is both a condition and prerequisite for the survival of mankind, and consequently, of the forces promoting social progress. It is a prerequisite for positive steps in all spheres of human activity.

The provision of a relative peace on Earth would not lead to the elimination of class struggle. Peace does not imply class reconciliation either in the international arena or within the framework of this or that capitalist country. In the international arena peace signifies peaceful coexistence between two systems in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres and at the same time the joint work by the most broad forces aimed at solving global problems.

The establishment of lasting peace throughout the world would make it possible to keep in check those imperialist circles which are making attempts to interfere in the internal affairs of different countries.

Dear comrades, seventy years after the October Revolution we are challenged by those conservative forces which hold that the necessity and possibility of socialism no longer exist. They claim that as a prospect for the capitalist countries socialism is dead. They are wrong. The causes and factors which bring about social transformations or demand such transformations have not lost their significance. Quite the contrary. The deep-going crisis which has struck the capitalist countries has demonstrated as clearly as ever that the way out of such a situation lies in the direction of socialism. The development of the productive forces, especially modern productive forces, necessitates comprehensive social solutions oriented towards socialism. The tremendous possibilities of new technologies should be put at the service of the whole of society under the supervision of the working people.

The underlying principles of the working-class movement for which the entire generations of enlightened thinkers and progressive workers were fighting are as urgent today as never before. Such principles as equality, social justice, human solidarity, mutual respect, genuine democracy, emancipation of labour and many others may materialize and acquire a social base and essence only under socialism.

The urgency of socialism is great as never before.

The changes now under way in the Soviet Union increase the urgency and attractive force of socialism. They objectively furnish new conditions for the growing influence of socialist ideas in the world today.

The urgency of socialism does not imply that the subjective forces fighting for it have reached the appropriate level.

The Communist Party of Greece is aware that the turning of the inter-

national communist movement and the movement of more broad left forces into dynamically developing ideological and political trends of our epoch, and making the urgency of socialism practically meaningful, demand that these movements search for better solutions to new problems, respond in kind to the historical challenge of our epoch, and deal with the questions brought forth by the capitalist crisis, by the transfer to new technologies and by the changes taking place in the structure of the working class and society as a whole. It is necessary that the internationalist solidarity of these movements assumes new dimensions in tune with the present-day conditions and that they develop contacts with other progressive forces and democratic movements of our time.

Differences of opinion may arise from different conditions existing in various countries. The main thing is to agree who is actually responsible for the arms race and the present threat to peace. This is imperialism and militarism.

However, in our opinion the level of the dialogue and exchange of experience among the political forces striving for peace and socialism fails to meet existing requirements. The development of relations between these political forces and, primarily, between the Communists, should be elevated to a new, higher level, provided the principles of equality are observed and respect for one another's opinion is ensured.

New problems posed by life necessitate a more meaningful and active dialogue and meetings not only between Communists but between all the progressive forces on our planet. This, naturally, does not presuppose a uniformity of views but requires more constructive initiatives concerning the most important problems of mutual interest, concerted actions and an active exchange of international experience.

We also hold that the coordination of efforts of the communist and workers' parties can facilitate, broaden and enrich the relations with other left, progressive and peace-loving forces and furnish conditions for our internationalist solidarity to acquire new and greater scale in tune with modern times.

Despite their internal differences, international monopolies and international reaction consciously coordinate their efforts in one direction. This makes it even more urgent to coordinate the approach of the Communists and all left and progressive forces towards the most important problems of our epoch and to launch a counteroffensive against neoconservative forces.

Let this meeting of communist and progressive parties, held in the year of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, become a powerful stimulus to dialoque and cooperation among the left, progressive and peace-loving forces.

General Secretary of the All India Congress Committee INC (I)

Ram Ratan RAM

Mr. Gorbachev,
Distinguished colleagues from other parties,

In sitting around this table today we have been given a truly unique opportunity to informally exchange views on the most important issues of our times in such an atmosphere. It is like being present at a gathering of friends. We can all benefit enormously from one another's perspective and experience. This is not only interesting, but important as well, because the problems of the world are getting increasingly complex and inter-related as never before in history. Even in our own lifetime we have seen tremendous changes. Mankind's experience of centuries, while it continues to be extremely valuable and relevant, cannot provide answers to all the contemporary problems. Therefore, there is a vital need today to get the benefit of mankind's collective wisdom.

Today's world is really one world. In the past this was not so: different civilizations developed independently of each other and points of contact between them were relatively few. In the 20th century, the revolution in communications and transport, in science and technology has brought us closer together. But man's thinking has not kept pace with these changes. One continues to hear talk of a so-called Third World as if it were a different world belonging to a lower category; and "East" or "West" are really relative terms depending on the perspective from which one is viewing matters. These are thus artificial divisions reflecting old attitudes and reflexes. We need to look at the world differently and exhibit what has rightly been called "new thinking". Ever since man has appeared on earth there have been battles and wars between groups, tribes, nations and, in this century, two world wars. War has been the instrument that states have traditionally used to pursue their goals. However, in the long perspective of history victories have been ephemeral; at different times different empires and civilizations have achieved glory only to fall after a while. But today these old so-called "rules of the game" have changed because the possession of nuclear weapons has given man awesome power to destroy the whole planet and wipe out every trace of civilization from it. There will be no victors or losers in a nuclear war. It is a horrifying thought but such is the reality. Nuclear conflict is a risk which we cannot take. Thus, disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament, remains the key problem facing humanity. It concerns all nations, big and small, nuclear and non-nuclear, though naturally the nuclear powers have a special responsibility to fulfil.

India from the very beginning has been consistently raising its voice in favour of complete and universal disarmament, especially nuclear disar-

mament, whether it be in the United Nations, the non-aligned movement or, more recently, through the six-nation initiative. It is therefore with a feeling of great satisfaction that we received on the eve of this meeting news that General Secretary Gorbachev and US President Reagan will be meeting in Washington on December 7 to conclude the first ever agreement in history on destruction of nuclear weapons. Although the agreement covers only about 5% of the destructive capacity of existing nuclear arsenals, it is nevertheless an important, even if small, step forward having great psychological and symbolic significance as well. We hope that this agreement will lead to the creation of a climate of greater confidence, trust and realism that would enable significant cuts to be made in the strategic nuclear weapons arsenals, and prevent an arms race in space. We also hope that the other nuclear weapons powers will join in the disarmament process.

India's foreign policy philosophy is deeply rooted in our traditions. Mahatma Gandhi's emphasis on truth, non-violence, morality and ethics which brought us our freedom and independence lie at the basis of India's policy of non-alignment. These ideas also found a place in General Secretary Gorbachev's address on November 2. Non-alignment is a positive approach. It is not passiveness, nor neutrality, nor equidistance. It reflects recognition of the inter-dependence of our peoples and nations. The steady growth of the membership of the non-aligned movement since its inception testifies to the viability and soundness of the ideas that lie behind it. The Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon-Free and Non-Violent World that Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and General Secretary Gorbachev signed last year embodies the hopes, aspirations and vision that the one billion people of India and the Soviet Union—and indeed all mankind—share of the world of the future. It is encouraging to see that it has been welcomed by many countries around the world. With the passage of time I am confident that the Delhi Declaration will go down as one of the epochal events in international relations.

Disarmament is closely related to the problem of development. The Special Session of the United Nations on Disarmament and Development which was chaired by India has recently concluded. It highlighted the huge sums of money being spent on arms on the one hand and the non-availability of resources for meeting the basic needs of large portions of the world population on the other. It is now important that follow-up steps are taken quickly so that the conclusions of the conference are implemented. We also hope that those who have so far not participated in the discussions join in.

The existing international economic system is faced with a crisis. There is a need to evolve a new international economic order which takes into account increasing global interdependence. Many countries are plunged

into a deep debt crisis. The world community has to find a solution to it, which is equitable and balanced, on the basis of shared responsibility and through political dialogue. A cooperative international approach is also needed to tackle the other burning issues before the world community today, be it the environment, energy, terrorism, drugs, or the scourge of AIDS.

The 20th century has seen two noteworthy events that have exerted a deep and lasting universal influence. The first was the Great October Socialist Revolution which spread the ideas of socialism, justice and equality throughout the world. With the passage of time, we have been able to judge its significance even better. The second event was the achievement of India's independence in 1947 which triggered off the process of decolonisation in Asia, Africa and elsewhere. The two events were inter-related since we in India, and others too, drew considerable inspiration from the October Revolution and the remarkable successes achieved by the Soviet Union over a relatively short period.

Today the task before our interdependent world is how to bring political, economic and social justice to all nations and people.

"Today", as the Delhi Declaration puts it, "humanity stands at a crucial turning point in history. Nuclear weapons threaten to annihilate not only all that man has created through the ages, but man himself and even life on earth. In the nuclear age, humanity must evolve a new political thinking, a new concept of the world that would provide credible guarantees for humanity's survival. People want to live in a safer and more just world. Humanity deserves a better fate than being a hostage to nuclear terror and despair. It is necessary to change the existing world situation and to build a nuclear-weapon-free world, free of violence and hatred, fear and suspicion."

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Mikhail GORBACHEV

Esteemed Comrades and friends,

My greetings to you again—this time as participants in our Meeting, which is unusual from all points of view and reflects the deep-going changes taking place in the world of today.

I take this opportunity to thank you for coming, and for taking part in our celebrations. This is an honour and great support for us.

Dear Comrades and friends,

All of you attended the festive meeting in honour of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. I therefore do not need to speak again of our affairs. Here I would like to share a few ideas elaborating on what I said in my report.

When the mighty revolutionary wave sweeping across Europe and the whole world receded, the revolutionary wave that was brought about by the October Revolution, Lenin realized before anyone else the whole complexity of the movement leading towards the goals which, as it seemed to many, the October Revolution had brought so much closer. His concept of a New Economic Policy took his idea of peaceful coexistence ("peaceful cohabitation") out of the initially purely political, even diplomatic, sphere into the sphere of the fundamental laws of the epoch.

Later, it is true, other notions would at times gain the upper hand, but now we have once and for all put an end to the attempts to play around with history, for there were times when we proceeded not from reality but from what we wanted to see.

The specific features of world development which had been building up and maturing throughout the entire postwar period became clearly visible in the 1980s. This applies, first and foremost, to the specific features of the nuclear age, which has pushed to the forefront the problem of humanity's very survival. This also applies to the process, which is stimulated by the scientific and technological revolution, of world-wide economic ties becoming more complicated, of all the world's countries and nations becoming more interdependent, and of the world becoming an integral whole in diverse and contradictory conditions. Finally, this applies to the exacerbation of the global problems that are challenging man's biological ability to adapt to the dangers, pace and stress of modern living.

All this brings out new elements of the idea of peaceful coexistence, which requires that political movements reexamine and reconsider their tasks and overcome prevailing ideological schemes and stereotypes.

This is not easy to do. No one has any ready-made prescriptions. It is unlikely that someone holds in his hands Ariadne's thread, which would

help us get out of the labyrinth of the present-day contradictory world. As we set forth our concepts of a new way of thinking, we are not in any way claiming a monopoly on the truth: we are engaged in a search ourselves and invite others to join us in looking for ways by which humanity could get cross the "minefield" of our times and enter the 21st century—nuclear-free and non-violent.

Certainly, in the historical perspective, it is socialism—of this we are convinced—that will make the decisive contribution to overcoming the critical elements that have arisen in civilization's development. No other system but socialism has the potential effectively to influence the search for that Hegelian "measure", that balance of interests, which will enable humanity to break through to a fundamentally new frontier, a frontier which will mean safety for it. Socialism's potential is far from being fully exhausted, yet.

In essence, **a most profound social revolution**, which originated in the 1917 October Revolution, **is under way.** But its long duration, novelty, and lack of uniformity, the combination and coexistence of progressive changes and backward shifts, the alternation and interconnection of revolutionary and evolutionary processes—all this makes any logical scheme drawn up by the old manuals inapplicable.

The logic of the social movement of our epoch is increasingly apparent. Its essence is the material and spiritual self-discreditation of the exploiting society.

Neither the negative pages in socialism's history, nor the entire libraries of works refuting Marxism, nor the acuteness and refinement of the ideological polemics going on in the world have been able to disprove the conclusion that there is an alternative to capitalism. And this alternative is socialism.

However, there are still many ways in which the world can develop. At each successive spiral of history the forces of the old world are able to eliminate the most dangerous contradictions at that moment, and thus extend their domination. That is what happened, for example, when capitalism took advantage of the scientific and technological revolution. Of course, the intrinsic antagonisms of the capitalist system reappear at every new stage, but in a new and different form.

To be sure, the new stage of the scientific and technological revolution is just beginning, and the main results of its use by capitalism are still to come. Thorough theoretical study of this matter is also at an early stage. The essence of what is happening to the mode of production is only just beginning to show behind the familiar formula about the continuous aggravation of capitalism's general crisis, to say nothing of political forecasts.

The fact that real socialism is so far tailing behind capitalism in tech-

nological development has also slowed us down in grasping the ongoing processes. The conditions for overcoming this lag are taking shape as perestroika, the revolutionary reorganization of socialist society, makes headway, and as socialist society attains a qualitatively new state. Yet, it is this society, the society of tomorrow, that represents the higher type of socialism that will help those who are looking for a social alternative.

You may have recalled that in the report at the festive meeting I spoke of two especially dangerous manifestations of capitalism's objective laws: militarization and non-equivalent exchange with the developing world. However, they are possible only if they are backed by an appropriate governmental policy. But that policy will continue to enjoy support so long as fear of the "Soviet threat" remains and so long as people continue to believe that there are "priority" national interests and secondary ones, that there are "subjects" of world politics and the economy and there are "objects", that is, the sphere of neocolonialism.

Our perestroika, with all its international consequences, is eliminating the fear of the "Soviet threat", and militarism is losing its political justification. The unacceptable and pernicious waste of resources on armaments is also becoming ever more obvious both in the light of the ecological danger and due to growing unemployment, which is becoming an entirely different problem than it was before in view of the new spiral of the scientific and technological revolution. Danger signals are also coming from the financial system, which is not coping with the extreme burden of the arms race, the astronomical state debts, and the hegemonic economic egoism.

On the other hand, the new impulse of liberation building up at the present stage in the Third World (as for the term itself, I agree with Ram Ratan Ram whose opinion I heard here) threatens to explode if the developing countries do not obtain an equal place in the world economy, if the idea of a New International Economic Order is not realized, and the task of "disarmament for development" is not put on a practical plane.

Those are the elements of the world process which are responsible for the build-up of "critical mass", which poses the question of whether civilization is to be or not to be, and which affects everything going on in the world.

It is no longer possible to look at world development in just the context of the struggle of the two opposing social systems. The dialectics of this development represent unity, contention, competition and interaction of a multitude of factors, and it is in this interaction of different societies that each society is put to the test. This does not mean, of course, that there can be any sort of unification or convergence between them.

We will not in any way renounce the genuine values of socialism. On the contrary, we will enrich them, and at the same time get rid of everything that distorted the humanitarian idea of our system. We do not expect our

class adversary to become "enamoured" by us. We do not need that at all. We are counting on life to force our class adversary to reckon with the realities and realize that we are all in the same boat, and that we must make sure that it does not capsize.

For socialism this policy secures a merging of its class interests as a system and the interests of all humanity. And for capitalism, too, there is no other sensible way than coexistence and competition.

Joint action alone can lessen and remove the global danger of an ecological "heart attack". The problem became an international one long ago. No country is likely to come up with a radical solution to the energy problem all by itself, and is even less likely to develop the riches of the World Ocean this way. Finally, only the collective reason of mankind is a match for the job of going into outer space and further to the solar and stellar expanses of outer space.

In this context, the international responsibility of the progressive forces of our time, among which the **communist movement** holds and will always hold a worthy and prestigious place, is extraordinarily high.

As a representative of the CPSU here, I would like to add a few words to what I said about that movement in my report the day before yesterday. Like many other things in the modern world, the communist movement needs rejuvenation and qualitative changes.

Today it is especially important that it is not only a national, but by its very nature also an international force. Mankind needs such a force today. As for the CPSU, it cannot even think of its domestic plans and affairs outside the international context, and, of course, considers what those plans will mean or could mean for those who share our ideals, and for all progressive forces in general. We ourselves were strongly aware of the sharp decline in socialism's international influence during the stagnation period. So perestroika in the Soviet Union became vital from this point of view as well. We are fully aware of the importance of our work at the new stage not only on the worldwide economic and political plane, but also as regards moral support for the forces of socialism, democracy, and progress.

But parallel activity in our own countries alone is not enough. There must also be joint action—but, of course, in up-to-date forms. What is needed, if I may put it this way, is a more sophisticated **culture of mutual relations** among the progressive forces. A kind that would make it possible to amass all the diverse experience and that would help us appreciate the varicoloured diversity of the surrounding world and its contradictory nature. The "arrogance of omniscience" is akin to fear of one's inability to cope with new problems. It testifies to the tenacious habit of rejecting other points of view out of hand. Here there can be no dialogue, no productive discussion. And worst of all, it is the cause that suffers.

Just as not all of the propositions of Marx and Engels could be dog-

matically extrapolated to the imperialist epoch at the beginning of the century, so too the postulates of the 50s and the 60s, let alone the 30s, are of no use in assessing the world today. A new comprehensive analysis of the theoretical legacy of our predecessors in the name of man's social emancipation is needed—an analysis which would give a precise definition of the new realities and would yield the best political conclusions.

There are many questions that must be answered in the search for a programme alternative to the antagonistic society and to tensions arising from confrontation in the world arena. Our Party and its theoreticians and scholars are attacking these questions in earnest, rejecting notions and schemes that were born in another time and were based on other possibilities for displaying initiative.

We issue an invitation for cooperation and a joint search not only to the fraternal parties and Communists, but also to Socialists and Social-Democrats, to Labourites, to followers of other trends in political thought and action, to all those who cherish the gains of the human spirit, who want to safeguard and use those gains for the benefit of coming generations. This work is vitally important for understanding the new situation, when the rejuvenation of civilization has become part of the task of ensuring the survival of the human race.

New way of thinking is also a new morality, a new psychology. Its aim is for every person, while remaining a citizen of his own country, a member of his own party, an activist of any progressive national movement, to become aware of his responsibility for what the whole world is to be and whether it is to be at all.

Assistant Secretary-General of the Baath Arab Socialist Party, Syria

Abdullah AL-AHMAR

Dear Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev,
Comrades and friends,

First of all, I'd like to express my gratitude to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for having invited me to take part in this representative and solemn meeting.

On behalf of the Secretary-General of our party, the President of the Syrian Arab Republic, Comrade Hafiz al-Assad, and on behalf of our country's leadership I'd like to express the congratulations and best wishes of our people, the National Progressive Front and the government of our country to the friendly Soviet people headed by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in their struggle for the common cause of all humanity—the cause of peace, justice and freedom. I would also like to express to the friendly Soviet people wishes for every success along the road of perestroika and revolutionary renovation, and the continuation of the cause of the October Revolution.

Comrades,

The presence of so many delegations and outstanding leaders in Moscow, the capital of peace and progress, is a vivid testimony of the vitality of the October Socialist Revolution and its capability for renovation. The fact that its 70th anniversary is being marked by the entire progressive-minded humanity confirms its historic significance. It liberated Soviet man from oppression and exploitation, opened the prospect of emancipation from all forms of exploitation, suppression and colonial and imperialist domination for all peoples and became their bulwark in the struggle against the forces of imperialism, Zionism, racism and aggression.

In this context the present-day significance of the October Revolution is clearly revealed. It continues its triumphant march in changed conditions and circumstances, when new problems arise and when socialism displays its creative potential in the development and restructuring of society, the broadening of its democratism and the assertion of the advantages of socialism in a world, where the manifestations of the negative aspects of the capitalist system are becoming more pronounced, the aggressiveness of imperialism is mounting, and it is intensifying the oppression and exploitation of peoples.

The October Revolution realized the dialectical connection between the sphere of society's life and the sphere of international relations. This revolution has found its natural continuation in the Soviet Union's support of the peoples' struggle, and its opposition to imperialism in all regions, for the international efficiency of renovation is completely united with its effi-

ciency in domestic life. These two aspects merge in the interests of consolidating the might of socialism and the role of the Soviet Union not only in its construction work inside the country, but also in the arena of the struggle for peace and support of the just struggle of the peoples.

The Soviet Union has supported, and is supporting now, the struggle of the Arab nation for emancipation, progress and unity. Its relations with our country, which have now reached a qualitatively higher level, are a vivid example of relations between a liberated developing country, directing its efforts to the construction of socialism and facing a vicious colonialist aggression against the Arab nation, and a great socialist state supporting the cause of the liberation and progress of the peoples and participating in the struggle for delivering mankind from the forces of imperialism, Zionism and racism.

The firm friendship binding our parties and peoples is the basis of Arab-Soviet friendship which is regarded by the broad popular masses as the strategic foundation of our present struggle for emancipation and progress, and of our resistance to the forces of aggression and hegemonism.

Comrades, the bold peaceful Soviet initiatives pose enormous tasks to all of us. They demonstrate not only the Soviet Union's readiness to take upon itself its share of responsibility for the fate of mankind, but also urge all people to use all their forces in the great battle. For the battle for peace is a battle of the whole of humanity for creating more favourable conditions for liberation and ensuring an inevitable transition to socialism on a world-wide scale. This confirms the connection between the local and the international and is a major element of the struggle for peace. In the complex international situation, which is characterised by tension and the arms race and the growing threat of aggression, the significance of efforts and initiatives aimed at détente, disarmament and peaceful coexistence is revealed with especial force. If realized, they will diminish the possibility of the unleashing of aggression, help the peoples fighting for emancipation and independence, ensure them more favourable conditions for development, and make the sources of foreign aid used for development more efficient.

Comrades, expressing our support to the Soviet peace initiatives we would like to make special mention of the proposals to broaden the agreements on détente and arms control so that they include seats of military confrontation existing in the areas of regional conflicts, and also the proposals that economic security and the struggle against racism should be regarded as the principal components of the universal security system.

The Arab region remains an object of the unceasing aggression of Israel which enjoys the unlimited support of US imperialism. This aggression, if continued, is fraught with a most serious danger for the peoples of the region, as well as for security and peace all over the world. Syria was

able to oppose this aggression and successfully withstand the intensive political, economic and information-propaganda pressure from outside. Syria was able to do that largely due to versatile Soviet assistance. Despite a grave situation and the burden of Israeli aggression we shoulder, the constant development process continues in our country, which bolsters up the forces of our people and their potentialities. Cooperation between our two countries is noticeably expanding, embracing all spheres of life, and even outer space.

Comrades, while opposing Zionism and imperialism, Syria is making its contribution to the integral process of the struggle waged by the forces of progress against the forces of reaction on a world-wide scale. The most vicious and repulsive forms of aggression and occupation exist in our region. Here the law of the basic contradiction between the forces of imperialism and Zionism, on the one hand, and the forces of liberation and progress, on the other, is in operation.

Relying on the unity of the people and on public organizations, on the basis of the social activity of the popular masses and within the framework of the National Progressive Front, Syria laid the foundation of a new society under the leadership of the Baath Arab Socialist Party. In difficult conditions our country proved able to develop its own potential of creation and liberation. Today, it is waging the struggle to overcome existing difficulties, to restructure forms and methods of work with a view to consolidating its potential, and in the name of effective Arab solidarity in opposing Israeli aggression and imperialist schemes, for restoring the unity of Lebanon and its Arab affiliation, for its territorial integrity and national accord among all of its people. Syria is fighting for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, the right of the Arab people of Palestine to return to their native land, their self-determination and the creation of an independent state of their own in their Homeland. Syria is coming out for convening an international conference as a means to achieve peace in our region. If this conference is convened, and if it is based on the correct concept and vested with appropriate powers, it would be able to work out a just and comprehensive solution to the problems of the confrontation in our region, proceeding from UN resolutions on the Palestinian problem and the situation in our region.

Comrades, the Iran-Iraq war which we denounced from the very beginning, is an element of a broad plan aimed at promoting the interests of imperialism in our region and drawing the states situated here into unjustified and useless internecine local conflicts. This plan has another aim—to create additional difficulties for the Arabs and drag them into a war which runs counter to their interests. The war is aimed at distracting their attention from the struggle for a solution to their main problem, and to bring Iran back under American control. The dangerous concentration of US and

NATO countries' fleets in the Gulf creates constant provocations in the region and shows how far the imperialist forces can go in their arrogant behaviour and neglect of the peoples' rights and the interests of international security and peace, and in their desire to restore their domination over the region, over its fate and its riches.

Comrades, the schemes of imperialism, Zionism and racism are not confined to our region alone. Many other peoples are being subjected to exploitation in one form or another. Foreign domination is forced on them, and acts of direct aggression are perpetrated against them. All this is being done within the framework of a uniform global imperialist strategy. Imperialist attempts to remove the progressive governments in Nicaragua and Afghanistan, direct interference in the affairs of states in Central America, the intensification of apartheid and race discrimination in the south of Africa, as well as other attempts of the imperialists to establish their domination over peoples show the real aims of their strategy on a worldwide scale. This calls for the greater coordination and unity of the ranks of the opponents of imperialism, Zionism and racism all over the world in the struggle for peace and social progress. All the more so since the great force of socialism—the Soviet Union—is not only rendering them enormous support, but is itself an important part of them.

Member of the Central Committee of the Social-Democratic Party of Switzerland

Toya MAISSEN

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear comrades,

Allow me, as a worker in the working class press, to deal with problems which are more close to me, namely those of the press in general and Party press in particular. I think that I have the right to speak about this because, on the one hand, I have worked all my adult life in the working class press, and on the other hand, for more than 20 years I more or less regularly visit the Soviet Union and intend to go on visiting it in the future.

I think that one should not underestimate the role of the press in conditions of perestroika and glasnost. For several decades now the press of the left parties in the capitalist countries has waged a strenuous struggle for survival. We are waging this struggle fully aware of the political necessity for the left forces to have their own press. In many cases a favourable attitude of bourgeois newspapers is not at all likely. Moreover, those who pose as liberals in cultural questions are mostly quite stern in the economic questions. And it is a well-known fact that in our countries policy is made not in cultural institutions but in the offices of top officials of banks and transnationals.

Those men and women who prepared the revolution, carried it out and secured the ultimate victory of a new social system were already aware of the necessity of the left press. As you know better than myself, Lenin himself was a very prominent journalist. Living as an émigré in Switzerland he on various occasions wrote articles for Social-Democratic newspapers in our country.

Comrades, the press and politics are like Siamese twins. If politics are bad, the press is no better. However, the opposite is also possible. The quality of the press is an indicator of the country's political culture. The press in itself is a definite force in a state and that is why it is vested with great responsibility.

The responsibility of the Party press is especially great. On the one hand, its task is to supply people with information, and on the other, to see to it that the freedom of information and of opinions with respect to the Party is observed.

The Party press must at one and the same time be critical and loyal.

This is not always easy to achieve. The practice of publishing only "court" news which was widespread in the sixties in the Social-Democratic press of Switzerland as well, did a lot of harm to the Party, the newspaper, and, certainly, the reader.

Comrades, the Party press in the event of inner-Party conflicts should

be cautious not to act as a judge or, moreover, an advocate of either side. In such situations the press should particularly thoroughly fulfil its basic task of informing the reader. Rank-and-file members of the Party, as well as all citizens of the country, have the right to know what is going on among the leaders of the Party and the state.

It is thanks to the media that politically active people in the West have learned two Russian words: "glasnost" and "perestroika". These are two magic words for the progressive-minded representatives of the left forces in the West. It has been the press that has spread these two concepts.

I hope that your press, which is a drive of the public opinion, would promote the critical realization of these two concepts in the interests of the cause. Much depends on the press.

Dear comrades,

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

In the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution I wish that you and all of us would enjoy critical and loyal press.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party

Todor ZHIVKOV

Dear comrades, dear friends,

I believe that you will share my view that we have gathered here at an unusual forum. It is unusual from the point of view of the problems we are discussing and from the point of view of the historic moment we are living through.

Mankind today finds itself at a stage which has no historical analogy. Certainly, any stage in social development is unique. However, the present stage is something special, for it is a turning point at which the cardinal problem of mankind's survival is decided.

Of course, the world today is faced with such a multitude of diverse problems that it is very difficult to classify them. However, one problem stands out: will our civilization survive or perish?

Survival or extermination—such is an alternative today facing all the world's nations. Nobody can say this problem does not concern him. Today the problem of averting a thermonuclear catastrophe is the cardinal and decisive one for each individual, every political or other grouping, every movement, every people and state and every alliance of states.

When I speak about the present-day situation in the world I recall Noah and his Ark in which he saved living creatures and ensured the continuation of life on Earth after the Flood.

Maybe some will be surprised that Todor Zhivkov, a member of the Communist Party for over 50 years and who heads the Bulgarian Communist Party for over 30 years, is interested in biblical legends.

But do not misunderstand me. Let us leave legends alone. In this case I just want to draw your attention to the philosophical generalization at which people arrived in ancient times: when faced with a common grave danger all the living creatures unite so as to survive.

Is the present-day mankind threatened with a new Flood? Yes, it is. But this "Flood" threatens to drown us in an avalanche of the most destructive nuclear, flame and radiation waves of terrible mass annihilation weapons. It is a biting irony of fate that all these types of weapons are the fruit of the same scientific and technological revolution which has given mankind an opportunity for an all-round development.

Several decades have elapsed since we first began to speak about a nuclear threat. As a rule we tie it up with the nuclear potentials of the world's largest countries—the Soviet Union and the United States. However, one should not neglect the fact that there are other members of the "nuclear club", and that a significant number of states have already created all the prerequisites for joining this "club". Another fact is even more im-

portant: not only the countries possessing nuclear weapons are threatened with them but also all the other states, every person on Earth.

All this gives rise to new realities in the world and brings forth new objective regularities of mankind's existence and development. It is time to realize what these realities and regularities mean and to reckon with them.

Undoubtedly, one of the most peculiar regularities is the growing unity and interdependence of the present-day world. From these unity and interdependence stem the global problems now facing mankind. The fact that the world is uniform and interdependent forces us, every single country, every nation to look after the security of other countries just as we look after our own security. What I mean here is the interdependence of actions, conduct, and relations between political forces, organizations and trends, between countries and military alliances.

Political courage and statesman's foresight are required to realize: solving the global problems on which the survival of mankind depends it is necessary radically to restructure many of the existing norms of thinking and conduct, the established approaches, means and forms of relations between individuals and nations.

All these problems, and first of all the problems of war and peace, demanded a new way of political thinking, a new concept, which would correspond to new historical realities and the present turning-point. The new political thinking, a new peace concept are not only a wish for the future but a real fact. They have been achieved through much suffering, and are the fruit of many years of efforts and search and, if you like, of the bitter experience of international developments.

It is to the credit of the socialist countries and, primarily, the Soviet Union, that they were the first to work out and formulate a new concept of international relations and to become the initiators and bearers of the new political thinking. This is convincingly borne out by the report of Mikhail Gorbachev to which we listened here, in Moscow, two days ago. The numerous Soviet proposals aimed at strengthening international confidence and the Soviet Union's flexibility and broadmindedness with which it searches for the most direct and effective way towards disarmament and the establishment of peace without weapons and wars are a practical implementation in recent years of the new political thinking.

The new philosophy of preserving and strengthening universal peace and the efforts aimed at its translation into life are the expression of realism, farsightedness, political wisdom, maturity and willpower. Other socialist countries, including the People's Republic of Bulgaria, are also making their contribution to this common cause.

I do not at all think that the new political thinking and new view of the world and international relations are the monopoly of socialism. As Mikhail

Gorbachev stressed today in his speech, in our troubled times increasing numbers of countries and nations are taking part in the elaboration and realization of the new political thinking, each country making its tangible contribution into the cause of averting nuclear war.

We welcome the agreement reached in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States of America on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons and the forthcoming signing of the respective treaty. This agreement testifies that the understanding of the community of interests of the states is making headway in international relations.

However, to eliminate the threat looming over mankind the new way of political thinking should become a bilateral process, should capture the minds and deeds of ever broader circles, especially of the political leaders of nuclear countries. Is it possible, for instance, to interpret the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative which tends to increase the threat of a devastating war as a manifestation of a new way of political thinking?

That is why while saying that a way towards real disarmament is being opened today and that the international climate is becoming warmer, we do not simplify things and do not engage in self-delusion. We are still at the very beginning of this road and the course of international processes has not as yet been turned irreversibly from confrontation to cooperation, mutual understanding and peace.

Despite class and other contradictions, we must all realize the global threat of a thermonuclear war for mankind. That is why we are full of resolve to promote the establishment of a realistic approach in world politics, of such a way of political thinking and action that would correspond to new realities. Only moving along such a path would the peoples have a possibility of living in conditions of universal security, understanding and cooperation.

Dear friends! The secure future of our planet is impossible without peace among nations. But we would be also deprived of our future if genuine peace and complete harmony are not established between Man and Nature. The growing confrontation between them also threatens mankind with extinction. That is why the ecological problem is another main issue facing every single person.

Today it is as clear as ever that we breathe common air, drink common water and live off the common earth. Never before has the threat to all human benefits been so real and so great. That is why we need a common realization of the situation, common goodwill and joint actions.

We should include in the list of general human values and global problems such matters as human rights, hunger, diseases, backwardness, the preservation and multiplication of cultural heritage and so on. It should be admitted that until recently all these questions were mostly the prerogative of science and propaganda and often served as a ground for ideolo-

gical confrontation, while almost nothing had been done for their practical solution. In our opinion, here, too, we require a new way of political thinking in order to make all these values and problems the subject of constructive and businesslike cooperation in the conditions of complete equality, independence and mutual respect.

Thoroughly aware of all this, the People's Republic of Bulgaria strives to make its contribution into the struggle for averting a nuclear war, for disarmament and successful solution of the ecological problem, for the establishment of understanding, goodneighbourliness and cooperation both on a bilateral and multilateral basis. In this connection I would like to inform you that at the meeting of 35 countries in Vienna we put forward a proposal for convening an all-European conference on the ecological problems and are willing to host this meeting. We also deem it necessary, and we have tabled a corresponding proposal, to sign a treaty on the ecological protection of the Balkan Peninsula.

In conclusion, I would like, on behalf of the Bulgarian people and our state and Party leadership, to welcome the initiative on the convocation of the present forum. I believe that its conclusions and the contribution into the achievement of humane and noble goals we set ourselves, will benefit mankind, both the present and future generations.

Member of the Central Committee of the United National Independence Party, Chairman of the Appointments and Disciplinary Committee, Zambia

Elijah H. K. MUDENDA

Comrade Gorbachev, comrades,

I thank the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the invitation extended to us to join the people of this great country in celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is an honour to our party and our country. It is a privilege to share the experience. I thank you for the warm welcome and the hospitality.

The Soviet Union has overcome many obstacles, and made major strides in all areas of human endeavour. It has not merely preoccupied itself with its own problems. It has consistently shown concern for other people, particularly the oppressed people of the world. The Soviet Union has worked ceaselessly for peace. It has lent support to those who were fighting for freedom and continues to do so. We are happy to note that the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union took a firm stand on this issue.

I wish now to convey fraternal greetings and congratulations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the entire people, on the occasion of the Great October Socialist Revolution, from Comrade Kenneth David Kaunda, President of the United National Independence Party, and from the people of Zambia. We wish the Communist Party of the Soviet Union success in the restructuring process. Judging by the results that have already been obtained in the direction of peace, we have no doubt that the initiatives that have been taken by the Soviet Union under the leadership of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, will bring benefits to mankind the world over.

I also thank the Communist Party for making arrangements for this informal get-together. It is a meeting of representatives of parties and organisations that are progressive, that represent progressive forces which work for peace. An exchange of knowledge and experience should be useful in furthering the cause of peace. My delegation fully supports the convening of this meeting.

The current world situation is very unsettled. Fighting is going on in many parts of the world, perpetuated by the forces of imperialism. Paradoxically, it is the peace-loving nations of the world that tend to be the victims of the constant attacks by forces of reaction. These constant attacks and harrassment could, as a consequence, weaken progressive forces.

In October, Comrade Kenneth David Kaunda addressed the General Assembly of the United Nations and discussed the global situation. In the

time that is available to me, I have decided to confine my remarks to Southern Africa. The situation in Southern Africa is a serious threat to world peace. Some Western countries make huge profits from their investments in South Africa and Namibia because of cheap labour. Some of the minerals in Southern Africa are strategic and are essential to the "star wars" programme (SDI). Furthermore, in geopolitical terms, Southern Africa is strategic.

The position of Africa on matters relating to peace and war has been clear and unequivocal ever since 1969. Faced with problems of colonial domination and racist oppression, the leaders of Central, East and Southern Africa, reviewed the strategy relating to the transfer of power from colonialists and racist oppressors to the people of the states in the region. The leaders chose as their first option a peaceful transfer of power. This position is stated clearly in the Lusaka Manifesto which was adopted by the summit conference of the OAU in 1969 and presented to the General Assembly of the United Nations.

Regrettably, the colonialists and the racist oppressors paid no attention to the sincere efforts of the independent African states. An armed struggle developed. The racists, with the support of Western powers, killed and maimed hundreds of thousands of people and destroyed property. The liberation forces fought with courage and determination. They succeeded in pushing back the frontiers of racism to the very source—South Africa which is occupying Namibia illegally. The point that has to be made clear is that liberation movements fight for freedom and for peace. They have never been the aggressors. They only reacted to aggression. The first option, namely, the transfer of power by peaceful means, could not be applied, and so an armed struggle developed. The position of the liberation forces has been and still is consistent with the policy decision of the OAU Summit of 1969. The position is politically and morally defensible in relation to furthering the cause of peace.

Efforts are now being made to recolonise areas that were liberated. South Africa is being used to destabilise independent African states in the Southern African region. The most cowardly attacks are being perpetrated against innocent people who are being killed and maimed. Women and children are being killed. The economic infrastructure is being destroyed. Some parts of the People's Republic of Angola have been actually occupied by racist South Africa.

Regardless of the support and assistance which South Africa can get, it will not succeed in pushing back the frontiers of racism. Never. It should be remembered that NATO supported those who were fighting liberation movements in Southern Africa in the sixties and seventies. This did not save the fascists and racists from collapsing. The gallant people of South Africa and Namibia under the leadership of the ANC and SWAPO respec-

tively are fighting with courage and determination. Support for the ANC and SWAPO is growing by the day. The racists are being isolated.

On behalf of Zambia, I wish to thank the socialist countries, other progressive countries and organisations that have given and continue to give support to the ANC and SWAPO. There should be no loss in momentum in the development of the liberation struggle. The more protracted the armed struggle becomes, the greater the loss of life in the entire region.

Apartheid has to be removed. Peace in the entire region is possible only if apartheid is removed and all the people in South Africa live on the basis of human equality. The killing of innocent people, attacks against peace-loving independent states are due to the existence of a racist regime in South Africa. The illegal occupation of Namibia is due to the existence of a racist regime.

As I appeal to progressive forces to increase their assistance, I wish to pledge Zambia's continued support to the ANC and SWAPO. Assistance to the ANC and SWAPO to achieve their noble goal would be a contribution towards furthering the cause of world peace.

We are meeting to exchange views on how we can strengthen each other in order to enhance the role of progressive forces in the world. In our region, frontline states established the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference (SADCC) in 1980 in order to strengthen member states and reduce their dependence on South Africa—a dependence which was bequeathed to them by colonial history.

The organisation started off very well. Understandably, the resources of its members were limited. But the will to work together is very strong. As a result many progressive countries have responded favourably to their initiative and are contributing to the strengthening of the frontline states.

The response of the Soviet Union to the appeal of the non-aligned movement for contributions to the non-aligned movement fund agreed upon at the summit held in Zimbabwe in order to assist frontline states is a positive contribution towards the support of the legitimate struggle being waged by the ANC and SWAPO. I thank the Soviet Union and all the other progressive nations and organisations that have responded favourably to the appeal.

In this regard, we support the major efforts that have been made and continue to be made by the Soviet Union to work persistently for peace. We all need peace. I, therefore, wish the Soviet Union and all the peace-loving nations of the world success in their efforts.

Long Live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Chairman of the Communist Party of Belgium

Louis Van GEYT

Dear comrades, dear friends,

Although it is still in the minority, the Communist Party of Belgium today is a dynamic part of our country's Left opposition and at the same time of the most broad movement for peace and solidarity among peoples.

That is why Comrade Dussart and I are glad to be able in these festive days to take part in the celebrations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution together with the prominent envoys of other representative sections of the Left forces and of this movement of our country.

In fact at the present moment Belgium is still emerging from almost a decade-long period in the course of which big capital rapidly developed along the lines of transnationalization. Its leaders and political allies were leading an offensive in many spheres. The most important and only exception from this rule was the question of the escalation of theatre weapons. On this question the right-centre governments which replaced one another since 1981 were strongly opposed by the large-scale public movement which showed a tendency of turning into the movement of the majority.

We firmly believe that this public movement of a new type influencing the adoption of political decisions in many European countries has greatly contributed to the forthcoming successful completion of the negotiations on the elimination of the medium-range missiles. Communists of Belgium rejoice in this success and base on it their bright hopes for the future.

This first tangible result in the struggle against the race towards catastrophe, however, required the transformation of the peaceloving sentiments of the public into concrete political initiatives and actions. It was also necessary to use the possibilities which emerged, in particular, thanks to this public movement and which made it possible to stop in some places the devious policy of deterrence and the drive for military superiority—the race which is going on between the military blocs in Europe and elsewhere.

In this respect of most decisive importance were the peaceful initiatives and energetic efforts of the Soviet Union taken since 1985. It is these initiatives and actions, carried out in parallel with the development of a new image of socialism, which more than anything else prompted new hope for the future, especially in capitalist Europe. Such a hope was undermined by the stagnation of preceding years. Without it, the democratic public of countries like ours is faced with either gloomy submission or a rising, which would probably fail.

What is now going on in the world, in any case, in Europe, where the

domination of the finance capital is maintained, is that the popular forces and democratic society are subjected to cruel suffering by the consequences of the structural crisis which has entered a new phase, the phase of a sudden disappearance of stock exchange optimism. They also suffer because the unprecedented achievements of science and technology are mostly used according to the law of the jungle to secure profits for the most powerful transnationals.

We have witnessed a significant reduction in the strength and prestige of the traditionally militant and well organized detachments of the working class. These detachments were the initiators of important social and democratic gains won by the left-wing forces in the course of a long period of growth following the victory over fascism. The process of rapprochement between these detachments and new public groupings which are dynamic but poorly organized is slow and difficult. These groupings concern themselves basically with such general problems as the struggle against militarization, for nature conservation, solidarity with marginal social groups and with the peoples fighting against repressions and underdevelopment. The general lagging behind of the Marxist theory and practice in such developed countries as Belgium in the face of these new problems and the prospects of their successful solution, has been aggravated by the people's different attitude first to the facts disclosed at the 20th CPSU Congress, and then to a gradual return to a tough policy course accompanied by the showings of force which were hardly justifiable in the eyes of the democratic public.

We believe that for Europe and the world there is no more important task than to work to confirm and strengthen the renewed hope for the future and to make that hope apply to all the major problems facing our societies; this hope is already acquiring concrete outlines, in particular in the form of an agreement on the liquidation of a whole class of nuclear weapons.

To work towards this goal is to become more aware of, and to make more concrete, the ties between the interests of the working class, other oppressed social strata and peoples, and the common interests of the nations, civilization and the future of mankind. This means to explain better to the working people what is the primary condition for stopping the offensive of reactionary and militaristic circles of transnational finance capital against employment and living standards, against social and democratic rights. What is the primary condition for laying the foundations for the fulfilment of the people's needs both in our country and throughout the world? For a start we must move stage by stage from agreement on medium-range missiles towards a less militarized Europe and the world. Europe should get rid of blocs, first in the central zone, and start moving to all-round peaceful cooperation marked by universal security and mutual

respect for the sovereignty of all countries, no matter whether they are integrated or not. The world must be rid of the burden of superarmaments and the anxiety stemming from them. For it has been proved that superarmaments destabilize the advanced capitalist countries and impede the development of socialist countries, making it impossible to do away with the backwardness of Third World countries.

This goal in countries like ours means the close rapprochement of diverse social forces and public trends which are concerned with the future. It means to carry out the policy of economic, social, cultural and democratic renovation aimed at peaceful development and cooperation, "the economy of peace". This policy should be adhered to also at the level of the EEC and CMEA, all countries of Europe and the Third World, and in the world as a whole. We are of the opinion that such a policy requires unity of the progressive forces and the overcoming of narrow-minded approaches as was the case in 1935 when the 7th Congress of the Communist International elaborated the anti-fascist union which led to the creation of the anti-Hitler coalition and ultimately, to the defeat of the barbarians of the pre-nuclear age. Such a policy requires revision of schematic and fatalistic concepts. They weakened Marxist theory and practice after the Second World War, or, still worse, contradicted this theory, in particular as far as the character and role of the state and public forces in advanced capitalist countries were concerned.

The effort required in such country as Belgium, torn by contradictions, is tremendous. This creates difficulties for such a party as ours, which exerts its influence through direct communication and which has very modest material means at its disposal. But there are many reasons to believe that this autumn of 1987—the autumn of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution and the completion of the talks on the elimination of the medium-range missiles—could become a turning point towards the restoration of the hope for better future and open up a source of new energy and wisdom for the democratic public to draw on. This is a transforming potential which cannot be reduced to the futile game of parliamentary musical chairs played by the openly Right and the moderately Left.

That is why we must nurture the fragile shoots of hope, even more so as reactionaries and dissenters preaching pessimism are always ready to trample them underfoot. We confirm our solidarity with the new dynamics of international life and with the emphasis on vital values in an increasingly intertwined world. These dynamics have been created by socialism which is taking upon itself, with growing resoluteness, its share in the responsibility for the fate of mankind. We want these dynamics to develop consistently and in the firm belief that there does not exist a more powerful motive force of peace and progress in the world than the restored trust of the peoples in their own and each other's forces.

General Secretary of the French Communist Party

Georges MARCHAIS

Ladies and gentlemen,
Dear friends, dear comrades,

Seventy years ago a step of great historical importance for all mankind was made thanks to the October Revolution. The revolution opened before the Soviet people prospects of unprecedented progress and put an end to the imperialists' unrestrained oppression of the entire world. Today various countries in all continents are building socialist societies, and their diversity is growing. Socialism is thus asserting itself as a necessity of our time and showing its ability to answer the questions facing society. This is vividly demonstrated by the process of perestroika and acceleration currently under way in the Soviet Union. Deep-going transformations making possible the solution of urgent problems are being carried out in Soviet society on the basis of previous achievements. A powerful impetus has been given to dynamic changes, as Mikhail Gorbachev said in his speech. What an exciting experience it is for all of us!

We see in these transformations ideas that are dear to us: priority given to meeting the working people's social needs, justice and social progress, economic efficiency, the development of democracy, and peace. As this is our concept of socialism too, we have categorically condemned such a serious and monstrous distortion of socialism as Stalinism.

In the 1970s and early 1980s we voiced, in accordance with our concept, our criticism of, and concern over, what was going on in some socialist countries, particularly in the economic and social fields, and in the field of human rights. For the sake of this concept of socialism we fully support the process currently under way in the Soviet Union.

This process is deeply influencing the development of international relations. Soviet proposals and initiatives have already led to historic steps forward in the field of disarmament. They facilitate to a large extent the development of the liberation movement which raises humanity to a higher level of civilization.

So, in an epoch when the world is getting more dynamic under the impact of peoples' struggle, when socialism is demonstrating its vitality, and science and technology are opening prospects of an immense progress for the benefit of mankind, capitalism is involving the countries where it rules in the deepest crisis.

Such is the situation in France. It is a developed country with a considerable human and material potential. However, unemployment, poverty and instability are growing there. Natural resources are being depleted, and the possibilities of development are diminishing. Day by day the forces of

capitalism are working towards the establishment of an even more inhuman and cruel society, a society of inequality.

We call on our people to rally, stand out against that aggression and fight for pursuing a new policy, that of justice, freedom and peace. In conditions of capitalism's bankruptcy we are putting forward an up-to-date and realistic slogan of building original socialist society in a democratic way, a society of democratic self-governing socialism after the French fashion. Whatever views on the world's present-day development may be, there is a great number of problems which concern everybody. I am talking about the problems of peace and disarmament, hunger and development, scientific and technological progress, changes in the field of information and communication, the peaceful uses of outer space and the oceans, and environmental protection. Tremendous joint international efforts are needed to solve them. Naturally, I cannot dwell on all these problems in my speech. I will touch on just two of them.

First, peace and disarmament. The arms race, the insane plans of militarization of outer space and the division of the world into blocs in accordance with the concept of security based on the "balance of terror" principle, all this has produced a simple and horrible alternative: disarmament or the death of humanity. Our time is opening before people an opportunity to make a decision (or prevent such a decision from being made) about the end of the world, an opportunity that was previously thought to exist in myths. No problem facing every one of us is more vital. No task demanding an immediate solution is more urgent than that of achieving general and controlled disarmament. As for us, we set ourselves the goal of working towards the full elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and support the destruction of all types of chemical and neutron weapons, and a balanced reduction of conventional armaments. We hold that France should say "no" to Star Wars, stop nuclear tests, help the establishment of verification procedures, accede to all relevant international treaties, put forward proposals on disarmament issues and back other countries' and organizations' proposals aimed at achieving the same goals.

According to public opinion polls, eight Frenchmen in ten want the elimination of all types of nuclear weapons and believe that our country, France, should exercise all its influence to promote disarmament. One cannot but denounce in this connection the position of the French official circles which refuse to facilitate the process that has been started and are pursuing a policy of overarming. We call upon our people to consolidate their efforts ever stronger in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

The second major problem concerns the right of peoples to development.

At a time when 800 million people are suffering from hunger, poverty and illiteracy it is ever more criminal to continue the arms race eating up

huge sums of money. We support in this respect the proposal of non-aligned countries to set up a development fund controlled by the United Nations. The fund could be formed from the resources released by a ten-per-cent reduction in military spending. We also propose that debts should be cancelled. Their total amount exceeds a thousand billion dollars, and that creates a dramatic and at times explosive situation in the more deprived countries. The establishment of new international relations, the development of broader cooperation to meet the aspirations of all peoples and, in the long run, the establishment of a new international economic order and the achievement of disarmament are in our time more important than ever before.

It is the duty of all of us to promote the independence and sovereignty of nations and respect their equality and self-determination. Freedom and dignity is what all peoples call for. They must have the right to self-determination. It is precisely in this spirit, the spirit of the Helsinki agreement, that we deem it necessary to promote ever broader cooperation in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals on the basis of mutual respect between states with different social systems and their mutual interests. Such cooperation can only benefit detente and peaceful coexistence.

Now the last point. We are fully determined to defend human liberties and rights wherever they are violated. We therefore demand, in particular, that sanctions be imposed against the South African racist regime, in keeping with UN decisions, by all countries members of the international community.

Ladies and gentlemen,

Dear friends, comrades,

As we can see, mankind is facing serious challenges but it has means to answer them. This is a matter to be tackled by states, peoples and all forces concerned, various as they are. The first steps on the road of joint action of these forces have already been taken. We are determined to go on contributing to the creation of the broadest possible union of all peace champions, communists, progressists, socialists, social-democrats, ecologists, believers and atheists, of all those who wish mankind to survive.

This is the way to the future. This is the way we choose.

Representative of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador

Schafik Jorge HANDAL

Dear Comrade Gorbachev, dear participants in the meeting,

With the present-day international situation, the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and perestroika which is under way in your country furnish the most favourable conditions for the convocation of this meeting of representatives of the most diverse forces. The purpose of this meeting is to share views on the most important problems of our time and determine the causes for concern over the future of mankind.

We feel strengthened in this assessment by the objective, critical and self-critical analysis made by Comrade Gorbachev of the 70-year history of socialism in the Soviet Union, an analysis which enriches and develops theory, and which strikes a blow at the years-long dogmatism which substituted fossilised apologetics and one-sidedness for a genuine study of the revolutionary process.

We would like to acquaint you with a few of our considerations concerning modern international problems.

Firstly:

There are all grounds to believe that soon a historic agreement will be signed which will do away with medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles. This is going to happen after seven years of unprecedented buildup, in a persistent and aggressive manner, of armaments by the Reagan Administration with the clear aim of making American imperialism the hegemon, gendarme and decider of the destinies of the world as a whole and of each nation separately.

We are happy to witness the steps made towards the achievement of this agreement and shall welcome its signing. At the same time we deem it necessary, while welcoming this event, not to keep quiet about other acute problems, for imperialism is still exerting efforts to reverse or to strangle the revolutionary process which takes on diverse forms in the Third World countries, including its attempts to reverse the development of socialism.

For this reason, it would be wrong to declare that détente has assumed an internally irreversible character, that imperial rulers have become imbued with the new way of thinking. This would only lead to the moral and ideological disarmament of all those forces which are standing for international détente and on whose clear conscience and militant spirit the advance along the charted road depends. We consider each step towards détente as a victory over imperialism.

Secondly:

For American imperialism nuclear détente does not mean the rejection of military methods of carrying out counterrevolutionary actions in Third

World countries where it is not confronted by nuclear powers and where it implements the so-called "low intensity conflict strategy". Not American, but other armies are fighting there, and getting the financial, military, political and diplomatic support of Washington.

The United States is up to its neck in the counterrevolutionary wars of our time, including those in which it did not at first take part. It is out for revolutionaries' blood; its target is to defeat the revolution and restore imperial order.

Meantime, the contradictions between developed capitalist countries, and more especially between the United States and the Third World, are becoming increasingly acute and are fraught with new crises. In exchange for peace and détente imperialism demands a settlement of the regional conflicts which would preserve and strengthen its domination.

We revolutionaries should promote détente, and facilitate dialogue and negotiations. However, this is possible only on the basis of the firm conviction that it is only the resolute struggle of the nations for their liberation that is capable of defeating the treacherous strategy of imperialism and of obliging it to accept just agreements and to adapt international relations to new realities of our world.

Thus the struggle of the nations for their liberation effectively promotes the cause of peace and progress throughout the world, the noble, heroic activity of historic importance in which all forms of struggle are legitimately used. The liberation struggle deserves, and is in need of support, both moral and material, from all the fighters for peace and democracy on our planet, including above all the American people.

Recent events in Central America are a vivid example of the methods used by imperialists. The Reagan Administration, which boycotted the convocation of the meeting of five Presidents, subsequently made an attempt to undermine the agreements reached. With this aim in view it has doubled weapons deliveries and increased political support for the Nicaraguan contras. It delivered to the contras more ground-to-air missiles and forced Honduras to assume an obligation to leave their camps on its territory intact. The American Administration also increased the deliveries of weapons, including the consignments of military helicopters, to El Salvador where as a result of the militant actions of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front the development of the popular movement and the demands of the national and international forces compelled the government of Duarte to enter into negotiations with the FDR—FMLN. The American Administration also allocated nine million dollars for the needs of the police which since the signing of the agreement among the Presidents of the Central American republics makes at least three arrests a day; moreover, every two days one person is killed or "disappears". These acts are primarily carried out against public and political organizations. Special

mention should be made of the assassination of Herbert Anaya, President of the Salvadoran Human Rights Commission, which was committed just a few days before the resumption of the dialogue. In the current fiscal year US aid to the Duarte government for the purpose of continuing the struggle against the insurgents will exceed 700 million dollars.

It should be added that for five months now the US Administration has waged a campaign to destabilize and overthrow the government of Panama so as to change the terms of the treaty on the Canal and to secure the preservation of the US military bases on the territory of Panama, as well as the Southern Command of the Pentagon which is a tool for its constant interference into the affairs of the turbulent Central American region and in Latin America as a whole.

Thus, the agreement reached in Esquipulas is in fact doomed to failure. The people of Central America are now becoming increasingly aware that to achieve peace and democracy they have first to stop American interference and restore the sovereign rights of their countries. They can achieve these goals only through their own struggle and through international solidarity.

Thirdly:

As we have learned from experience in our country, the first condition for strengthening the national liberation movement is the unity of the revolutionary and left forces, and their alliance with the democratic and patriotic forces in the country. This unity, this patriotic bloc is in need of the support and cooperation of all the peace-loving and progressive forces on our planet.

Such are a few of our considerations and points of view.

In January 1988 the seventh year of the war in El Salvador will come to an end. While in 1981 the American Administration declared that it would rout our forces in six months, not so long ago its Ambassador in San Salvador said that it would require another six to seven years. This is the silent admission of the heroism of our people and of their unbending resolve to emerge victorious.

The people of El Salvador will never be routed and will be victorious. Few in our country now doubt that.

The people of El Salvador, fighting for their own future and thus making a contribution to the implementation of the most noble goals of mankind, are in need of greater solidarity, and more extensive cooperation and support.

Long live the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the immortal ideas of Lenin! Long live socialism!

We wish full success to your perestroika.

General Secretary of the Norwegian Labour Party

Thorbjørn JAGLAND

First of all I would like to take advantage of the occasion and express my gratitude for the friendly invitation to take part in this meeting of representatives of different ideologies and movements. We should organize such discussions more often despite ideological differences and long-standing contradictions. Ideological contradictions were a serious cause of the arms race between the East and the West and European tensions. All this generated mutual mistrust and fear. In our interdependent world we should begin cooperating instead of trying to overcome one another. Only the social system or ideology that can prove its correctness in the course of peaceful competition has the right to exist.

I regard the invitation to attend this international forum as still another manifestation of the new openness in the Soviet Union. This gives me an opportunity to express the opinion of all European Social Democrats: should this policy of openness be continued, it would create a basis for a new era in European politics. Europe is divided by ideological contradictions. The democratization process in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will bring the European countries closer together. That is why we should speak at this meeting frankly. For concealing the fact that a lack of openness in the Soviet Union has been the cause of both warranted and unwarranted fear in the West cannot be justified. Thereby, prerequisites were created for giving political support to the policy of intensifying militarization.

Although the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles gives cause for a certain degree of hope, I still fear that the arms race has got out of political control. Technology is now developing so rapidly and it is so sophisticated that it may put both politicians and political processes out of the game. Bluntly speaking, we have given too much power to technocrats and military bureaucrats. This might have happened because of the fear that existed and continues to exist in our countries. If politicians want to regain control over the arms race, they must get the public's support. Such support would be easier to gain, if those who want to continue the arms race are deprived of the possibility of increasing fear. That is why the process of democratization is important, that is why greater openness is so necessary.

I believe that the problem I've been talking about which exists in the West also exists in the Soviet Union. Isn't that so, Mr General Secretary? In the Soviet Union there must also be forces interested in continuing the arms race and using fear as a political tool. Should a turning point actually occur in the public opinion in the West and should an end be put to the in-

sane technological arms race, would not this help Soviet politicians and in turn lead to a disappearance in the Soviet Union of the grounds for fear and the stockpiling of weapons? We must eliminate the very grounds for fear. We have no other way.

The foundations of peaceful development in the world have been put forth in three important UN documents in whose preparation prominent Social Democrats had taken part. They are the Palme Commission report "Common Security", the Brundtland Commission report "Our Common Future", and the North-South Dialogue report called a Programme for Survival drafted under the direction of Willy Brandt. In them the world and humanity are regarded as one entity. If the world finds itself in a state of crisis (and we are in a state of a deep crisis), people's narrow and negative views dominating over us are to blame for this. We saw around us only enemies and therefore we thought only a balance of fear was possible. We believed that man is the master of Nature and therefore the rapacious attitude towards it has become the only policy of improving our well-being. We believed that people could not control themselves and could not cooperate, consequently an elite should govern them by using force.

It is such a picture and views of the world that are challenged by the notions "general security" and "common future". The reports combine the need for disarmament and the Third World countries' desire for development. The word "development" is another expression of the notion "peace". Peaceful development can only be guaranteed if we succeed in stopping the dangerous destruction of the environment. That is why financial resources should be used for development instead of wasting them for the pernicious arms race. In future our actions should be based on the ideas of the above-mentioned reports. We should support those trends and movements which come out for inculcating new views among people. They are those which seek to establish a new economic order in the world. This is the movement for environmental protection, which regards man as a part of nature. This is the movement for women's equality with men. This is the movement for peace, which wants us to realize that "enemies" are also people.

The struggle for the peaceful development of Europe is of decisive importance for peace all over the world. In Europe, the superpowers confront each other. Huge arsenals of nuclear weapons have been stockpiled there. Nevertheless, we who live in Europe can say that there has never been less justification for the arms race than now.

Small and medium-size countries in Europe are not afraid of each other. That is why the time has come to start the disarmament process in the fields of nuclear, conventional and chemical weapons. Everything indicates that an agreement on eliminating medium-range missiles will be reached. This meets the demands that we Social Democrats put forward

long ago. Although this agreement involves only one category of weapons it is extremely important. An agreement on strategic weapons should be the next step. So the differences as regards space-based weapons should not be allowed to hinder it. Preventing an arms race in space will be difficult, if an agreement on strategic missiles is not reached. And there should be no waiting for a new US President in the hope of more favourable opportunities. For the development of technology does not stop, it continues and doesn't wait for politicians.

By signing the present and first disarmament agreement, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev have shown that they are far-sighted leaders. Let us render them support and urge them to take new historic steps.

Following the agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles, a treaty on conventional armaments should be concluded as soon as possible. In this field the Soviet Union has an advantage as a result of its being a part of the European continent, whereas Western Europe is under the protection of the United States on the other side of the Atlantic. Hence Western Europe's dependence on nuclear weapons. Western Europe seeks to lessen it, but it is best of all to eliminate such weapons. This depends, however, on what happens with conventional and chemical weapons.

It is also necessary to considerably reduce strategic armaments and prevent the arms race in space. The very idea of establishing a kind of "Maginot line" in space is absurd and, moreover, dangerous. No one can be safe from nuclear weapons. Therefore both the Soviet Union and the USA should adhere to a strict interpretation of the ABM Treaty and conclude an agreement on space-based and defensive weapons. Scientific resources should be used for the peaceful exploration of outer space.

Again I would like to go back to the question of the need for new views and a more integral picture of the world. Here the issues of human rights and state sovereignty must be in the centre of attention. The Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which was held in Helsinki in 1975 is the lodestar for all humanity. Social Democrats emphasize the significance of this component part of the policy in defence of peace of which I have already spoken. Respect for human rights creates trust, and is therefore fundamental to the struggle for peace. That is why we regard the efforts to expand democracy in the USSR positively. We are inspired by the fact that many cases involving Soviet citizens have recently been examined and settled. But I would like to stress that the permission to emigrate granted to individual citizens and the permission to profess one's religion and express one's political views should not be a mere gesture of some sort from the government. Such rights should be regarded as totally independent of the government. Therefore they should be guaranteed to all people. They have been laid down in the UN Declaration of Human Rights

and in the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference, and it should not be a prerogative of individual governments to decide who exactly and how many persons should enjoy these rights. The same applies to state sovereignty. This has been recorded in international law. That is why Social Democrats condemned the war waged by the USA in Vietnam. For the same reason we request the Soviet Union to withdraw its troops from Afghanistan. This would be an important step in strengthening trust in the world.

General Secretary Gorbachev, the world is going through a deep crisis. It has engulfed not only the Third World. The crisis is being experienced not only by capitalist countries, as it has been said here. Socialist countries are obviously going through a still deeper crisis. It is time to stop dividing the world into black and white. It is only then that it will be possible to deal with both world problems and those of one's own country.

Let us regard the world as one entity!

Let us begin to cooperate!

General Secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party

János KÁDÁR

Dear comrades, friends,

On behalf of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party I greet both the initiators of this meeting and all of its participants. We regard it as an event of great significance that representatives of different parties and movements and other responsible persons who have come to Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution are gathered here, can speak freely and listen to one another's views on the vital questions of our time on the basis of mutual respect.

My friends, for any government, any party or individual who has a sense of responsibility there is now no more important and urgent task than that of eliminating the dangers threatening peace in the world and curbing the arms race, especially reducing and ultimately getting rid of all nuclear weapons.

Everyone, irrespective of his party affiliation and world outlook, must realize that the world's stockpiles of nuclear weapons are enough to destroy life on Earth many times over. More and more people have realized that humanity has reached a crossroads: either to begin eliminating nuclear armaments, or to become reconciled to a life under their shadow, in an atmosphere of uncertainty and mortal danger in a world whose future cannot be foreseen. Either humanity will have the necessary will to completely eliminate nuclear weapons or human civilization will be subjected to the danger of being destroyed by them. This is the main issue of our time.

Comrades, friends, it is not only the dangers threatening mankind that have grown, there has also been a growth in the real possibilities for overcoming those dangers. The Great October Revolution for the first time in history brought power to the working classes in one-sixth of the world. It is a fact that with the creation of the Soviet Union a government emerged which simultaneously inscribed on its banner the cause of peace and the cause of social progress. As a result of the efforts of the anti-fascist coalition in the Second World War, the more aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism and militarism suffered a crushing defeat. After the war new socialist countries emerged and the colonial system collapsed. Workers' parties and other progressive public movements grew stronger in many countries. The multisided character of the peace movements embracing our entire planet expresses both humanity's growing desire for peace and its readiness for action.

Proceeding from our principles, we Communists are ready to give everything to the struggle and to work for the sake of mankind's peaceful future in the interests of all. We are convinced that cooperation for the sake

of consolidating peace and security cannot do without the participation of the Communist and workers' movement.

No one can regard it as his privilege to solve the problems that concern the future of mankind. Nor do we Communists claim this. We know that only the broadest unity can guarantee the realization of the principal human value—the right to life. Ideological, political, or national differences cannot limit this unity. We should learn lessons from both positive and negative experience. I regard it as especially important that in solving major problems concerning mankind's existence the search for ways and possibilities for cooperation be conducted jointly with the other important section of the working-class movement—with Socialist and Social-Democratic parties, and, of course, with all other progressive and peace-loving forces. It is gratifying that in recent years we have been working in a practical way for detente, and that in this hall we can greet a whole number of representatives of these forces. I regard their participation in this meeting as an important, promising and forward-looking event.

Friends, in the present situation the considerable factors of tension still are influencing international relations, though processes having a positive impact are growing stronger. There has not yet been a radical change, but, on the basis of what has already been achieved, persistent efforts could bring about a breakthrough. In the past one or two years the international climate has improved considerably. It is important that a new political thinking and a sense of responsibility corresponding to the demands of the nuclear age are spreading ever wider.

The reason for hope is primarily the fact that dialogue between the East and the West has again become livelier and the talks between the Soviet Union and the United States are occurring on a regular basis. The Soviet-American agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles is imminent. The conclusion of such a treaty would for the first time bring about the complete elimination of a whole class of modern nuclear weapons, thereby contributing to the world's security. We regard the political consequences of the forthcoming talks and agreements as important, that is, the strengthening of trust between the two great powers and, in general, between countries having different social systems, and the further stimulation of the restriction of armaments. Furthermore, such an improvement in the international climate can facilitate progress in other areas of contacts as well.

Comrades, friends, apart from the defence of peace, mankind has other common, serious concerns. It is necessary to pool efforts on a large scale for alleviating and solving such global problems as doing away with the burdensome heritage of the colonial past in a number of countries, overcoming the difficulties resulting from economic underdevelopment, and eliminating the demographic and food crisis. There is a growing awareness

that halting the further destruction of our environment is in the interests of all humanity. These major problems can only be solved by strengthening international security, overcoming prejudices, and consolidating mutual trust and cooperation between countries with different social systems.

Friends, today, here in Moscow, the Soviet people are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution under the banner of renewing socialist thinking and practice. It is my conviction that the results and experience of the restructuring being carried out in the Soviet Union are important not only for the Soviet people. Like the Great October Revolution 70 years ago, the perestroika process now under way in the USSR is a factor of worldwide political importance. The favourable international impact of perestroika is already now obvious and tangible.

Due to the differences in conditions and national features of each socialist country, the forms of the search carried out in them are very diverse. These countries have already gone through the "infantile disorders" of the early period of their development. The changes under way in the Soviet Union prompt responsible leaders of all socialist countries not to copy mechanically, but to think independently, to use each other's experience in a creative way. It is not obligatory to follow the Soviet example, but the well-understood interests of the socialist countries' development require that careful attention be given to the Soviet experience. For the problems awaiting solution are in many respects identical or similar. All this serves to point out that perestroika in the Soviet Union is a positive factor for the entire socialist world.

We in Hungary are also working on the solution of important problems of social and economic development. Our goal is to create conditions for effective and rational economic management by consistently developing the reforms started earlier and applying the humane fundamental principles of the socialist system. We also realize that an essential condition for our socialist development is the participation of the widest sections of society in the understanding of problems, in the decision-making process, and in joint work. That is why overcoming economic problems is inseparable from improving the system of political institutions and from the further large-scale development of socialist democracy.

Esteemed comrades, friends. I have a high regard for the thoughts that have been shared here, for the democratic atmosphere of the meeting, and for the expressions of loyalty to the cause of peace and progress. I'm an optimist and I believe that our joint thoughts will help common sense, peace and humaneness to gain the upper hand. I'm convinced that today it is this that best serves the original great goal of our movement—the liberation of humankind.

Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization

Yasser ARAFAT

Comrade Gorbachev,
Comrades, friends,

I am pleased to be with you today at this important forum together with this outstanding group of leaders, world-famous people and fighters who have gathered to mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. I would like to convey my greetings and congratulations to Comrade Gorbachev, the friendly Soviet people and the CPSU leadership. In spite of the fact that the Palestinian people are now living through a most difficult period, I considered it my duty to come here and have the honour of participating together with you in the festivities marking this great historic date.

The world is now going through a destiny-shaping, very delicate and serious moment, particularly because, as we can see, the US Administration is stubbornly clinging to the Star Wars programme. The nuclear arms race poses a direct and real threat to all of humankind. Our planet is literally brimming with nuclear weapons. Quite a number of countries, both large and small, already possess these weapons which at any moment could get out of control because of an error or an adventuristic act, or even because of someone suddenly becoming mentally deranged or perhaps as a result of a malfunctioning mechanism or computer. I am talking about those very mechanisms and computers whose faults have already been registered on many occasions and in many fields, including military and economic ones, and most recently in quite different regions. This poses a threat to all of us and to the future of civilization.

That is why anyone with an unprejudiced view of history must give Comrade Gorbachev credit for approaching these vital problems realistically. This is the only correct approach, for the question is whether there will continue to be human life on earth or not.

It is clear, therefore, how important it is to concentrate our efforts on the struggle to reach a comprehensive agreement on nuclear disarmament. Whether it is the Star Wars programme or long-, medium- and short-range missiles, the zero option or the double-zero one, we must understand and realize, by using all of our senses, our reason and conscience, the importance of such an agreement for ensuring peace on the planet.

We proceed from the belief that peace is a single whole. It is one and indivisible for both adults and children, for the whole of mankind. Peace, however, cannot be achieved without eliminating all seats of tension, putting out the flames of regional conflicts and curbing the forces of imperialism. These forces are seeking to retain their positions in Asia, Africa, Latin

America and other regions and are pursuing a policy of colonialism in its old, new and brand-new forms.

The imperialist forces are keeping up tension and stoking up conflicts in those regions. They see conflicts as a means of imperialist penetration aimed at retaining their ability to plunder national wealth, particularly the wealth of the Third World peoples, and at exploiting the working people even in their own countries. They claim to be progressive, but it is precisely the capitalist system as a whole that is a result of that policy. The chaos reigning today at the stock exchanges of the capitalist world has demonstrated the vileness of current financial and economic crimes for which both the weak and those whc considered themselves strong are having to pay a high price. We should all adamantly denounce this economic system with its "equality" and scandalous practices, whose burden eventually falls on the shoulders of poor nations, adding to their poverty, and countries that have fallen into the clutches of banks, in particular the International Monetary Fund. The terms they are offering are so dreadful that, should they be accepted, the people living in the Third World, over half of the planet's population, will be compelled to labour for decades and even centuries. This will further increase their debts and the interest on those shackling debts, which are not only depriving those peoples of their wealth but also bleeding them white.

Such, comrades, is the situation as we see it, with all its enormity and cruelty. The world is entering a complex epoch of economic and technological interdependence. Mankind has no other way but to eliminate the sources of danger and wrest destructive weapons from the aggressors' hands. That is impossible to do until the peoples win full freedom and gain political and economic independence.

Peace must triumph on our planet so that we can live in conditions of equality, justice and brotherhood, without oppression and colonialism in its traditional and modern forms, without racial discrimination, chauvinism, Zionism and blind fanaticism.

May our planet Earth live in peace in a world free of monopolies, enslavement, colonialism, racism, fascism and Zionism. But what kind of peace can one talk about now that the situation in Southern Africa is deteriorating, Pretoria's racist regime continues its evil activity against the South African people, its occupation of Namibia, its aggression against the front-line states and peoples. Here, in the country of the Great October Revolution, we voice our full support for the peoples of South Africa, Namibia and the front-line states in their persistent struggle against the racist regime of Pretoria and proclaim our solidarity with them. We also voice our resolute support for the struggle of Latin American and Central American peoples and their positions. We highly appreciate the agreement reached

at a meeting of the heads of state of Latin and Central America aimed at discarding the fuse of war and establishing peace among their countries.

A fiery storm is raving among oil rigs in the Middle East. An unprecedented buildup of naval forces continues there. All this is taking place against the background of the escalating Iran-Iraq war. Its flames are threatening peace not only in our region but on the entire planet.

We therefore fervently call for the realization of the UN Security Council's Resolution 598 and for the immediate cessation of the war, for it is aimed against the Iranian and Iraqi peoples, all Arab and Muslim peoples, and all countries of the Third World. It is necessary to create an international peace-keeping force in order to stop that war, protect and guarantee the freedom of shipping in the Persian Gulf and put an end to the massive foreign naval presence there.

Israel maintains ties of a military and strategic union with the US Administration and is a springboard of world imperialism, headed by the United States, in the Middle East. It has even become a participant in the US Star Wars programme. The United States gives Israel its full protection and unlimited military, political, economic, financial, informational, propagandist and diplomatic support. Certain other, even more dangerous developments are worth mentioning here. Relying on this US assistance and that of some other Western countries, Israel has turned the Middle East into a nuclear-weapon region and has repeatedly threatened to use such weapons. Moreover, the United States helped it to organize the production of nuclear-tipped long-range missiles capable of hitting targets in the Soviet Union, the Arab world, the Middle East and the African continent.

Israeli occupation is not just colonialism. It is an expansionist Zionist colonization recognized by the United Nations as a form of racism. The Zionist colonialists have driven 60 per cent of the sons and daughters of the Palestinian people from their native land, subjecting our people to oppression. Having seized Palestinian lands, they have set up their settlements there, destroying the national heritage of the Palestinian people, carrying out the judaization of their shrines and depriving Palestinian settlements of even drinking water. Israel thus continues its occupation of Palestinian and Arab lands. US-made tank shells and airplane bombs go on exterminating our people. Our women and children have been turned into guinea pigs for testing killing technologies and the most sophisticated American weapons and military hardware.

All this creates an explosive situation in this strategically important region, one that could trigger off a conventional or a nuclear war. The Israeli military have committed all sorts of crimes contained in the arsenal of Nazism and fascism: from the destruction of Deir Yassin and Kafr Qasim in Palestine to the massacre in the Sabra and Shatila camps in Lebanon, to the criminal acts of the fanatical racist bands of Levinger, Shatok and Ka

hane. These crimes are being committed against our people on the seized Palestinian territory, on Lebanese territory in Palestinian camps, and against the Lebanese people and the national and patriotic forces of that country. The Israelis are openly perpetrating them by themselves, resorting to air and sea bombardments, and through their agents in confessional bands. They are thus seeking to undermine Lebanon's stability, security and territorial integrity, and to deal a blow to its people and institutions in preparation for dismembering the country to the extent of turning it, on a sinister confessional basis, into new Balkans. These attempts have been going on since the Israeli invasion of Lebanon in 1982.

Our people are determined to hold out against the hateful Israeli occupation and stand up to it in spite of the atrocities of our enemies and their policy of genocide towards us.

Comrades, the Palestinian people want a just peace, and they are fighting for freedom, which to them is synonymous with peace. We are looking to our friends in the world, above all the Soviet Union and Comrade Gorbachev, a friend of our people, in the hope that peace will be established in the region. The only way to achieve peace is to call an effective international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the equal participation of the Security Council's permanent members and all parties to the conflict, including the PLO, and to implement all relevant UN and Security Council resolutions.

This is necessary for ensuring our people's national rights and self-determination, and for creating their own independent state so that our children can live as free people on a free land, as all other children in the world. I would like in this connection to address the peace-loving forces of Israel who have boldly stood up in favour of the Palestinian people exercising their national rights on the Palestinian land.

Supporting the policy proclaimed by Comrade Gorbachev in the face of the threat posed by nuclear weapons to the future of mankind, I would also like to advance an important initiative to turn the region of the Middle East and the Mediterranean into a nuclear-free zone.

We are ready to support any international initiatives aimed at establishing a just and durable peace in the Middle East, so that the Palestinian reality, bearing witness to our people's staunchness, steadfastness and willpower, could be integrated and interact with the present-day international reality for the sake of the future of all peoples, which should be free from war and the threat of war, and for the sake of a better world for our children and the generations to come, which should be able to live without the fear of a nuclear or conventional war.

The US imperialists have formed a scheme to render the work of some regional and international organizations ineffective or to even liquidate these organizations, including inter-Arab organizations, the Organization

of African Unity, the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the Non-Aligned Movement. There are continuing attempts to undermine the authority of the United Nations. Since the non-aligned states are in the majority in almost all these organizations and the Third World countries exercise great influence at the United Nations, it has become quite clear why the UN is being attacked. Another reason for the attacks are the principles and universal character of this organization. We therefore call on the Soviet Union and other friendly states to support the Non-Aligned Movement and other authoritative international organizations and help them to continue their mission. The Third World countries are called upon to strengthen the unity of their positions in the framework of the Non-Aligned Movement in order to stand up to the challenge of imperialism headed by the United States. This challenge manifests itself in the policy of neocolonialism, a policy hostile to these states.

Comrade Gorbachev, early in this century the great leader Lenin laid the foundations of a staunchness that was to bring the epoch of traditional colonialism to an end. Today this lot has fallen on you, Comrade Gorbachev, for you are at the head of the process of the destiny-shaping perestroika aimed at developing a revolutionary way of thinking and continuing a truly Leninist policy. This places on you a burden of historic responsibility to create a firm foundation that will facilitate the downfall of all forms and manifestations of neocolonialism and updated colonialism belonging to the epoch of imperialism. This is indeed a historic responsibility. Now, as we near the end of this century, we are confident that you, together with the great Soviet people who accomplished the October Socialist Revolution, together with all the freedom-loving and true revolutionaries of the world, and with all people supporting a just peace on the planet, will be capable of fulfilling this mission.

Glory to the Great October Revolution and the heroic people who performed it!

We salute and cordially congratulate the friendly people of the Soviet Union and its wise leadership!

Long live Soviet-Palestinian friendship!

Victory to the revolution!

Vice-President of the Australian Labour Party

Michael BEAHAN

Thank you, Comrade Gorbachev,
Comrades,

May I first say what a privilege it is to have been invited to attend these jubilee celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Revolution and to be a part of these discussions with kindred parties.

Despite the fact that Australia is a relatively young country with a short history of European settlement, the Australian Labour Party claims to be one of the oldest, if not the oldest, democratic socialist parties in continuous existence. The Australian Labour Party developed out of the union movement in the 1890s. It grew out of increasing frustration at the inability of the union movement to influence political events. Ironically, it gained strength from the massive defeat inflicted on the labour movement in the 1890s by the combined forces of the conservative establishment of the time—these included the governments of the time, the business community, the judiciary, the media, the police and the armed forces. Union leaders realised that, without a political voice, they were powerless to combat such forces. And so, the Australian Labour Party was born.

It quickly established itself as a united, strong and viable institution firstly gaining the balance of power as a minority party in both state and national parliaments and forming its first majority government at the national level in 1911. It has existed continuously since then, is still based on the union movement and is currently enjoying unparalleled success, having held the national government since 1983 and holding government in four of Australia's six states.

I give this short history to you, comrades, because I come from far away and I think it must be of interest to some of you who may not have had an opportunity of mixing with Australians.

I and my Party welcome the new acceptance from all parts of this small and increasingly interdependent globe, of the need to establish dialogue between socialist parties of all types. While the Australian Labour Party works within a mixed economy involving state and private enterprise, it shares the same broad aims as socialist parties all over the world. The common thread is the socialist objective. From an ethical standpoint, we could define this, as Mikhail Gorbachev did on Monday, as striving towards "a more just and equal society", a society in which each individual has a right to a life with dignity and security. This is the common end; the means of achieving this end may differ.

While political systems and the political parties which comprise them shape the society in which they exist, they are also shaped by that

society—by its history, by its culture, by its economic and strategic circumstances. The Australian Labour Party, given its historical, cultural and social context, is a party which seeks change by evolution. This involves winning and holding government; it involves an educative as well as a legislative role as we try to win the confidence of the community and to convince it that such change is both desirable and necessary if real justice and equality is to be achieved for the working people we represent.

The process is slow and the frustrations many, but much has been achieved by Labour governments working within these constraints and I do not believe that the socialist aims of the Party have been lost in the process.

By contrast, in the Australian context, revolutionary parties have little support and tend to be marginalised by a community whose ethos cannot accommodate views seen as unnecessarily extreme. I do not say this to in any way denigrate them but simply as a statement of unarguable fact.

In this regard I and my Party welcome the growing acceptance by the CPSU, and again alluded to by Mikhail Gorbachev on Monday, that there are many ways of achieving socialist objectives and that no way is more or less legitimate than any other.

Australia is a small nation by international standards. With 16 million people we are not a major power, but we can, I believe, play a useful "honest broker" role in international affairs and, within our own spheres of influence, have, I believe, been responsible for significant reform.

(Australia has, for example, appointed a full-time Ambassador for Disarmament, whose role is to foster and encourage initiatives in the areas of arms control and peace either by direct action or by acting as a catalyst reaction for other nations. The ambassador has become a respected protagonist in peace and disarmament initiatives at the United Nations and other international fora.)

In the South Pacific region, Australia introduced and gained acceptance for the South Pacific Nuclear-Free Zone. At meetings of the Commonwealth Heads of Government, it has played an active role in achieving a regiment of sanctions against South Africa in protest against its inhuman and degrading apartheid laws. It has consistently opposed the USA's Strategic Defence Initiative, commonly known as "star wars".

In terms of our attitudes towards the Soviet Union, we heartily welcome the prospect of an agreement between the Soviet Union and the USA to eliminate a whole class of nuclear weapons, and hope that it will generate a momentum towards further, even more momentous arms control agreements. We support the peaceful and constructive involvement of the Soviet Union in the Pacific region, but we are concerned that the region should not become an arena for superpower confrontation or competition.

We regard your internal reforms as most encouraging. The spirit of glasnost and perestroika are a significant start to a process which has already led to improved relations between the USSR and Western nations, including Australia. The extension of this reform programme to cover areas which have long concerned the West, e.g. adherence to the Helsinki Final Act, and Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan, would greatly add to this and add to the trust of the world's reaction to these acts.

We see the development of greater confidence and trust between the countries of East and West as a precondition for further gains in the most important matter for us all, the question of arms control. There is a need to overcome tensions arising from perceived threats, both military and non-military, to each other's security and social political systems. Trust, of course, depends largely upon how we view each other and what we believe to be each other's motives and goals.

We therefore welcome moves to facilitate a less encumbered flow of information between peoples of the East and the West. Glasnost and perestroika are domestically important for the Soviet Union, but they are internationally important as contributors to increased trust and a consequent reduction in tensions. Equally important in this process are meetings such as this of like-minded parties. We can learn much from each other, and out of this learning comes trust and understanding.

It is interesting to note, for example, that many Western countries, including Australia, are themselves going through processes not unlike perestroika. In Australia, for example, we are currently taking painful decisions to restructure industry and making fundamental changes in our education system in order to adapt to changes in the pattern of world trade. Efficiency, productivity and competitiveness are the catchcries. They sound very familiar, don't they?

Comrades, my presence at these jubilee celebrations and my participation in these round table discussions is testimony to a changed attitude on behalf of my Party to formal participation in these events. I hope that this is a beginning of a programme of reciprocal visits which will enhance the already improved relations between our parties and our peoples. I thank the CPSU for its warm hospitality and for making this short stay so stimulating and successful. I suppose, comrades, that thus we get *mir*!

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany

Erich HONECKER

Dear comrades and friends,
Esteemed participants in the meeting,

On behalf of our Party I thank the CPSU Central Committee for the initiative to hold in the capital of the USSR an international forum for the exchange of views. We are glad to have an opportunity on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution to meet with such a great number of representatives of communist and workers' parties, other revolutionary and democratic parties and movements, and with leaders having various world outlooks.

We listened very attentively to Mikhail Gorbachev's speeches at the jubilee meeting and here at this meeting today. He spoke about key issues of today which are of great concern for all of us, no matter in what conditions we act, no matter what our ideas of social progress are.

We Communists are imbued with ideals of the renewal of the world which began to materialize 70 years ago, after the Great October Socialist Revolution. Marx, Engels and Lenin pointed out that the only alternative to capitalism was socialism which liberated the people from exploitation. This statement was borne out by the Great October Revolution. Since that time the world has radically changed and continues to change before our very eyes.

No matter how these changes are comprehended by any individual person, the fact that socialism is a society whose internal motive forces are aimed at preserving peace, is being increasingly recognized in the world. Its role as an active peace champion is today more important than ever before, for humanity is facing an unprecedented alternative: either we shall all perish together or we shall find common solutions to the global problems threatening our continued existence. The significance and the scope of the tasks that can be accomplished only by joint efforts have grown dramatically. Never before have the need for and the possibility of cooperation among all revolutionary, progressive and peace-loving forces been so great as today. The masses and the public in all parts of the world have an incomparably greater influence on social development today than previously.

All those who have gathered here in this hall are at one in believing that the most crucial issue today is to prevent a world nuclear war and ensure the survival of mankind. In the final analysis, all the problems being solved today in the interests of humanity's progress are in one way or another connected to the possibility of ending the arms race, advancing along the path of disarmament, and ensuring lasting peace.

The awareness is growing of the fact that, given the current level of military technology, peace and security can no longer be based on the build-up of armaments targeted against one another. Peace and security can be achieved only through agreements between states, by political means, and on the basis of the principle of peaceful coexistence. This means that cooperation among states, regardless of their social systems, has become a top priority. The worldwide consequences of the scientific and technological revolution and the need for establishing a New International Economic Order and for finding a solution to ecological and other global problems increasingly require such cooperation. That is why we in socialist countries believe that peaceful competition among states is both necessary and possible. We are for settling all controversial world problems without the use of military means, through compromise and a balancing of the interests of states.

In our time the principles and goals of the community of states and nations, principles and goals developed and upheld by the Soviet Union, are acquiring ever new importance. The possibility of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems, which was proved by Lenin, is today the only alternative if mankind is to survive. Today Lenin's Party and state are calling for a way of thinking and acting which accords to reality and are making a clear contribution to this matter. Jointly with its allies, the Soviet Union calls for universal and complete disarmament, and for the establishment of a system of international security. As a result of the actions of peace champions throughout the world, the Leninist ideas of a democratic peace controlled by nations are increasingly becoming a reality.

Thanks to the Soviet Union's purposeful policy, the actions of socialist, non-aligned and many other states, and last but not least, thanks to the activities of those involved in the peace movement, new possibilities are arising in international relations. Although there is a long way to go before the danger is eliminated, the further aggravation of international tension has been stopped, and promising signs of transition to the path of disarmament have appeared.

We welcome the meeting to be held between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington this December, during which an agreement is to be signed on the double zero option regarding intermediate- and shorter-range missiles, and the talks are to be continued on the reduction of strategic offensive armaments and on the strengthening of the ABM Treaty regime.

The entire experience shows disarmament does not take place automatically. It is the duty of all of us to help remove and overcome the influence on the policy of states of those forces wagering on an intensification of the arms race and confrontation and seeing military superiority and world hegemony. The hopes of the more aggressive forces to achieve mili-

tary superiority are illusory. They will not dare to take a perilous risk if the anti-war forces of all countries give a timely rebuff to the warmongers.

As developments in recent years show, this struggle is not without prospects. In this connection I should like to recall the deployment of new American missiles in Western Europe in November 1983. Some people lost courage, and our party advanced a slogan at that time to intensify our efforts in the struggle for peace. We decided to conduct an active political dialogue and support the establishment of the broadest possible coalition of all the forces of peace, reason and realism.

Looking back at the road traversed, we may say that developments did not proceed according to the schemes of those who said that more missiles meant more security. Owing to the initiatives the Soviet Union advanced at the Summit Meetings in Geneva and Reykjavik, principles and goals have been formed whose implementation would mean a considerable advance for the world along the road of eliminating nuclear weapons and all weapons of mass destruction. Although certain progress has been made, it cannot be said that there has been a turn from the policy of confrontation to détente. At the same time the numerous steps the Warsaw Treaty member-states have taken to facilitate the reduction and elimination of armaments and the formation of a comprehensive system of international security have brought about tangible changes. And these changes are felt in the heart of Europe.

For a long time the Federal Republic of Germany refused to recognize European borders, the socialist German state. But this did not bother us and we continued the dialogue aimed at ensuring peace and security in Central Europe. For historical, political and geographic reasons the German Democratic Republic feels a special responsibility for preventing a war from ever originating on German soil, for averting a military confrontation on the dividing line between the two most powerful military groupings of our time, and for ensuring security and peace. The two social systems existing on German soil influence each other. But the conditions in which this goes on are now different from what they were several years ago.

During my recent official visit to the Federal Republic of Germany the inviolability of the borders and the existence of two sovereign German states independent of each other were reaffirmed for the whole world to hear. It was agreed that both German states should make an effort to create a situation favourable for reducing nuclear, chemical and conventional armaments, and for replacing confrontation by mutually advantageous cooperation. This agreement testifies to changes of historical importance.

We realize that this process was considerably facilitated by the solidarity the German Democratic Republic has enjoyed for decades with socialist and other friendly countries, and with broad social and political forces

throughout the world. I would like to express sincere and heartfelt gratitude to all our friends. At the same time we highly appreciate the contribution of those forces in the Federal Republic of Germany which are persistently working to get the principles of reason and realism introduced into the relations between the two German states.

Thus, new prospects are being opened up for building a common European home. Today not only socialist countries, but also ever broader social forces, including even government circles in Western countries, speak out in favour of the liberation of Europe from nuclear and chemical weapons. They come out for normal cooperation between states which strengthens trust and ensures the possibility of mutually advantageous teamwork in diverse spheres.

Esteemed participants in this meeting, we of course never forget that socialism and capitalism are based on essentially incompatible principles, that they are like fire and water in that it is impossible to unite them. The 70 years that have passed since the victory of the October Revolution and the four decades since the emergence of the world socialist system strengthen our confidence that the future belongs to socialism. The elimination of exploitation is a most important prerequisite for the real and comprehensive realization of human rights and freedoms.

The champions of the capitalist social system believe that the future belongs to their system, their way of life. This historical dispute, however, can be resolved only if peace is preserved.

The hopes that the class struggle and the struggle of nations for national liberation and social progress can be eliminated through agreements between states are illusory. Class antagonisms, exploitation and oppression continue to prevail in various countries. Correspondingly, the striving of the people for a life worthy of man and for democratic participation in the building of social relations will persist. Nicaragua, the South of Africa, and other regions prove that even armed interference and the most cruel repressions by imperialism cannot strangle the just struggle of peoples who can count on our solidarity.

Consequently, we do not at all close our eyes to the contradictions and conflicts in the present-day world. At the same time, due to the danger of humanity perishing in a nuclear catastrophe, we state that preserving peace throughout the world is the supreme interest of the working class and all the progressive forces.

At the international scientific conference on the topic **Karl Marx and Our Time. The Struggle for Peace and Social Progress** held in April 1983 in Berlin our Party, proceeding from this truth, reached the conclusion that all political and social forces sincerely striving for peace should cooperate, irrespective of the differences in their political programmes, world outlooks, religious convictions, class barriers, i.e. of all that divides

them. And time has not stood still. The world coalition of forces of reason and realism has begun to have a favourable influence on international affairs.

We are pleased to note that as regards the issues of war and peace Communists and Social-Democrats are increasingly finding a common language. Differences and contradictions still exist between them in political and ideological affairs, but both sides are aware of their responsibility for joint efforts for peace. This is testified to by the joint initiatives of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany on establishing a zone free from chemical weapons and a nuclear-free corridor in Europe, the joint proposal of the Polish United Workers' Party and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany on confidence-building measures, the joint initiative of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany on a reduction of military budgets, as well as the talks being conducted between other parties.

The Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Social-Democratic Party of Germany recently published a joint document entitled **Dispute of Ideologies and Common Security**. This document contains the first constructive search for solutions to problems of equal concern to the working-class movement as a whole and the entire peace movement as well. The document specifies the rules to be observed so that peaceful coexistence and reliable partnership in the sphere of security can be successful. This document, which has in equal measure formulated both joint approaches and the rules of conducting disputes in a civilized manner points out realistic ways for peaceful coexistence instead of universal destruction.

Although our world outlooks, ideological motives and ideas of how to move towards our goals are different, we all proceed from the possibility of changing the world for the better. Today parties and all political and social movements are assessed according to their readiness to begin a dialogue aimed at working out common approaches, their readiness to learn from one another, and their ability to establish unions. It is necessary to learn how to communicate with one another in practice. Our Party and the German Democratic Republic will continue to make a contribution to this cause. For example, in 1988 we intend to invite prominent political leaders who support the establishment of nuclear-free zones to an international meeting to be held in the German Democratic Republic.

Esteemed participants in the meeting,

Dear comrades,

Thanks to the selfless work and creative approach of German citizens and to our Party's policy that serves the wellbeing of the people, the German Democratic Republic—the socialist state of workers and peasants on German soil—continues to develop successfully. The liberating exploit of

the Soviet people who made a decisive contribution to the deliverance of mankind from the threat of fascist barbarity will always remain in our people's memory.

In a fraternal union with the Party and country of Lenin and with all socialist countries, we are making every effort to open up the potentialities inherent in socialism and all our society's sources of wealth for the good of the people. We are guided in this by the principle of the unity of economic and social policy which has put forces into action for making a turn to intensification in the German Democratic Republic. This unity promotes the interest of working people in mastering and applying modern science and technology in practice. It ensures the very broad democratic participation of citizens in the managing of all social processes.

No matter what the diferences in conditions and the diversity of the specific approaches in individual socialist countries, we are purposefully moving forward, establishing broader cooperation. To put our plans into effect we, as all nations, need peace more than anything else. That is why all who are for a more reliable peace invariably find the socialist countries to be active and reliable partners.

Let us work jointly in order to ensure for humanity a possibility of entering the next century without the threat nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction pose.

Deputy Chairman of the Political Bureau of the National Front for the Defence of the Revolution of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar

Richard ANDRIAMANJATO

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear comrades, friends,

Speaking today on behalf of the Madagascar delegation at this meeting, convened on the CPSU's initiative during the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, we can't but feel emotional, for we've had the honour to take part in the celebration of the revolution's 50th and 60th anniversaries. We have been witnesses to the changes that have taken place both in the Soviet Union and in the international arena since then. These changes are positive. Their single most important element is the attainment of a Soviet-American agreement on the destruction of certain types of missiles. This agreement is the first step towards detente, the elimination of the nuclear threat, mutual understanding among nations, and peace. It is our belief that such changes stem from the unwavering efforts of peace-loving forces for the sake of peace, as well as from the persistence, wisdom and peace-loving spirit of the USSR, the Soviet people and leadership headed by the authoritative statesman, Mikhail Gorbachev.

We warmly congratulate all the Soviet people, the Communist Party and the leadership of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

Dear comrades and friends,

The presence of more than 100 parties at this forum, parties representing various ideological and political orientations, and hailing from many different countries, is a graphic illustration of the growing international interest in the changes taking place in the USSR and in the Soviet policy of peace. For this reason, we would like to accept the CPSU's offer and share with everyone here our ideas, which come from a developing-world party that has based itself on scientific socialism for almost thirty years now.

We support the thesis that the removal of the nuclear threat, which imperils the very survival of mankind, is a top-priority task. Neither Europe, nor Africa, nor any other continent will stand a chance in the event of a nuclear conflict, if the forces of peace weaken their efforts even for a moment. World events lead more and more quarters in the Third World to an understanding of the pressing need to make progress towards universal and, primarily, nuclear disarmament, which the steps taken by the leaders of six countries illustrate. We support the idea that the biggest nuclear powers, the USSR and the USA, share a special responsibility for the fate of detente, as does Europe, which plays a crucial role in this process due to reasons of a historical, political and social nature. We attach considerable im-

portance to the initiatives aimed at establishing peace and security in all regions of the world, including the Indian Ocean.

In their efforts to implement UN decisions on this vital matter, the countries in the Indian Ocean region, including the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, have time and again come forth with numerous initiatives proposing to transform the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace. This is also the goal of the Soviet proposals Mikhail Gorbachev announced in Vladivostok.

Comrades, friends,

Disarmament, detente and equal security are the main problems facing the peoples of the world. Genuine security is impossible if the conflict situations in a number of the world's regions, in Latin America, Asia and particularly Africa, are not resolved. Recognizing the complexity of the problems which rivet our attention in Central America, the Persian Gulf and Southeast Asia, we Africans believe that a peaceful future is impossible unless the hideous machine of apartheid, whose constant crimes against the peoples of South Africa and the frontline states evoke the indignation of honest people everywhere, is completely destroyed.

To us, security also means the resolution of another problem which is becoming more and more pressing—the problem of the Third World debt. The recent International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development shed light on the scale of this tragedy which affects three quarters of the world's population. In this way, while some nations view changes in the rest of the world from the angle of human rights, we concern ourselves primarily with such rights of peoples as self-determination, the right to live in conditions worthy of human beings, the right to shelter, food, education, and solidarity. However, the yoke of foreign debt, which is a result of the policy pursued by imperialist nations, undermines these rights.

Hence the approach of the Third World public, which quite justifiably judges the policy of a government, party or organization in accordance with the stance it takes on the key problem of our times.

In this light, we welcome the important statement made by the socialist community, whose representatives convened in the capital of the GDR in May, 1987. The Political Report of the CPSU Central Committee at the 27th Congress also discussed this serious problem. This viewpoint was once again confirmed in Mikhail Gorbachev's address to the International Conference on the Relationship between Disarmament and Development. The USSR Foreign Affairs Minister, who addressed the 42nd Session of the UN General Assembly in September, 1987, advanced new proposals aimed at solving the problems involved in the foreign debt.

Comrades and friends,

The celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution is

taking place at the same time as the CPSU wages a tough struggle aimed at consolidating socialism, new thinking, new trends in public life and the economy. From this angle, the significance of perestroika goes well beyond the Soviet borders.

Together with the other developing nations, we follow the changes the bold Soviet position is bringing about in the international arena with high hopes, for to us socialism means progress, independence, human dignity and genuine brotherhood of all people on the planet. In fact, as the development of today's Africa shows, the newly-free nations prove that they are truly independent by establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. This step also asserts the sovereignty of newly-free states in the face of imperialist blackmailers, who try to use the Soviet threat to frighten African nations, as they did in our country.

The cooperation between developing countries and the Soviet Union, unlike their relations with the rest of the world, is based on totally new principles: mutual respect, mutual advantage, non-interference in internal affairs. This was emphasized by Didier Ratsiraka, the President of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, in his speech at the session of the Organization of African Unity. He said that the Soviet Union has never attached political or any other tags to the aid it provided to Madagascar. This is truly socialism in deed.

We are convinced of the unshakable fidelity of the Soviet people and its party to internationalist principles and solidarity. We have no doubt that they will continue as before to follow Lenin's behests, abiding by his belief that progressive forces in Africa and Asia are in a position to enrich the experience of the October Revolution.

Dear comrades and friends,

We wish every success to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its leaders in the resolution of this task as well.

Chairman of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Netherlands

Elli IZEBOUD

Dear comrades,

The atmosphere of discussion at this meeting makes it possible for us—Communists, Socialists, Social Democrats, progressive people, and others—to exchange opinions on important questions of our times to which we must provide answers. The Communist Party of the Netherlands welcomes this opportunity to exchange opinions. We are well aware that the period of rapid development of armaments, and of technology gives rise to a host of vital problems. In our opinion, coordinated action in the struggle for peace, disarmament and environmental protection is called for.

The forthcoming agreement between the USSR and the USA provides for the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles. The Communist Party of the Netherlands regards this agreement as a result of efforts by all the forces of peace in all their diversity. The creation of a supra-class alliance of peace forces is of paramount importance. We also believe the coming agreement to be a factor promoting the further struggle for peace in the Netherlands. The unusually large-scale peace movement in our country slowed down the deployment of new nuclear missiles. Cruise missiles have yet to be deployed in our country; meanwhile, anti-deployment protests are going strong. The question arises as to whether this agreement will be followed by other concrete steps towards disarmament, or whether it is to be regarded as an exception, whose effects will be neutralized by the accelerated development and modernization of other types of weapons.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands comes out in favour of continuing the struggle for peace, stopping the construction of missile bases in our country, freeing the Netherlands from nuclear weapons, and eliminating such weapons all over the world. During the peace march in the Hague last Saturday, thousands of people again took these demands into the streets. We continue to oppose new armament proposals no matter from which side they may come, be it the United States or Western Europe. We are deeply worried over the expansion of military cooperation among certain large West European countries, particularly within the framework of the Western European Union (WEU). This, too, is a threat to the independence and self-determination of the Netherlands and the people of our country.

The Communist Party of the Netherlands believes that arms and military expenditures must be cut. This is the first priority of our times.

An agreement on medium- and shorter-range missiles as well as the

prospects of further disarmament talks have aroused confusion and nervousness in NATO quarters. This shows the degree to which radical changes are linked to the elimination of weapons. This turn of events emphasizes the ever-growing importance of a peace movement in capitalist countries. The need to end the arms race and abandon the militarist thinking concerns more than just the Soviet Union and the United States. Independent and concrete steps in working for peace and security are the responsibility of every individual, all political parties, independent peace movements and peace organizations, parliaments and governments of large, small and medium-size countries in the East, West and the non-aligned world. We believe that among the masses, there prevails new thinking as regards peace and security. Its essence is that the right to make disarmament decisions belongs not only to the military. Such thinking should become irreversible.

Numerous contacts on a bilateral and multilateral basis are all-important for the exchange of ideas and experience. The struggle for peace and security must be linked to the everyday problems, demands and aspirations of people, to the argumentation and alternatives put forth by mass organizations and movements.

Hence, it is our view that the following provisions are significant:

— the unremitting struggle for peace and consolidation of security to be attained through nuclear disarmament and the exclusion of nuclear arms from military doctrines, both general and particular;

— the development of practical solidarity with peace movements in the Third World; it is necessary for rich, developed countries to assist in the resolution of gigantic problems in the developing world; in this, the workers' movement in developed countries should play its role;

— continuation of the struggle against the consequences of the crisis, whose starting points are: equality of all people regardless of the colour of their skin, origin, sex, or sexual inclinations;

— in the situation when the economic crisis lowers living standards, it is important to pay attention to all forms of racism, all manifestations of hostility towards foreigners, of anti-Semitism, to direct efforts towards the development of new, equal relations between men and women;

— development of new forms of unity and cooperation among diverse political factions within the workers' movement; here, dialogue and cooperation are required on a constant basis.

In this regard, Communists must step up their activities. After the lean years of stagnation, disagreements and internal strife, which caused great damage, a stage of reorientation has set in. This process is not universal, and not everyone has made the correct conclusions. The process of reorientation is proceeding within the parties of socialist, capitalist and developing countries.

The agenda in socialist countries includes the following problems:

— initiatives in the field of disarmament, which give greater opportunities to the peace movement;

— relations between the state and the party;

— the fight against bureaucracy;

— the broadening of democracy, including the individual rights of citizens;

— relations between communist parties in socialist countries, which are based on the necessity to recognize national uniqueness.

In capitalist countries, there are problems relating to the formation of a coalition of social forces and the role played by the communist party in this process. It is also necessary to look for answers to questions pertaining to the revolution involving productive forces, loss of jobs due to the automation of production, the changing status of the working class and organizational work in this class.

Asia and Latin America provide new examples of coalitions with uniform strategies and tactics. Another example is the liberation struggle waged in South Africa under the leadership of the African National Congress. This struggle is an inspiration to the rest of the world. In those places where colonial imperialist exploitation and the arms race cause the greatest damage, a new, freedom-loving democratic potential is emerging to step up the struggle for a better world.

Despite differences among communist parties, there have appeared several signs that communist policy reflects current needs:

— the elimination of stagnation in practical, theoretical and ideological fields;

— the elimination of past differences and dissociations;

— the elaboration of a form of international cooperation which would make it possible to recognize the individual features and diversity of communist parties and give them a correct assessment.

We should also recognize the right to go our separate ways, and realize that this can only enrich the communist movement, help it rally around major goals and set up a beneficial exchange of opinions between independent equal parties. This should also help create broad coalitions with other forces in the working-class and peace movements.

This makes communist and social-democratic parties, both separately and in contact with each other, advocate the idea that the priority task of our time is to do away with the current inertia of the arms race, and to start arms reductions.

Since the Soviet Union has adopted the struggle for peace and security as the fundamental part of its policy, peace movements have been presented with greater opportunities and new options have become available in dealing with regional conflicts and other explosive situations.

It is also necessary to examine the activities of the Communists themselves. For a long period of time, the relations between parties were disrupted and contacts between them were made difficult. The "diplomatization" of relations and the struggle between powers led to contradictions within the communist movement and between socialist countries. This period is not completely over yet, and should therefore be thoroughly analyzed.

We have the impression that the main components of the communist movement have learned from these lessons and expressed readiness to follow new courses. These new courses have the following goals: peace and socialism, which guarantees democracy and human rights. It is our desire to see this forum and the exchange of opinions become a step forward for all those who chose socialism, as well as for those who would like to use the experience accumulated by others.

Thank you for your invitation to the celebrations dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

Coordinator of the Executive Commission of the National Leadership of the Sandinista National Liberation Front of Nicaragua

Daniel ORTEGA

While the United States cannot do better than a peace-loving rhetoric, the Soviet Union has proved its devotion to peace with deeds. On December 7, it is planned to hold a summit to make important decisions on medium- and shorter-range missiles. This will once again put American peaceful intentions to the test. Problems of universal peace and disarmament are closely connected to other problems which are a source of anxiety for all humanity and which were discussed in such detail by numerous speakers at this forum. Yes, the Soviet Union does take a firm stand for peace. The United States claims it is for peace, yet it will not give up Star Wars. All those who strive for peace must mobilize their efforts and continue to pressurise the United States to change its stand and its course, to make it live up to its claims. This would bring us to the moment when Star Wars would be abandoned, and great efforts would be concentrated on the elimination of chemical and nuclear weapons, and even on the reduction and eventual destruction of conventional armaments. However, any step, small as it can be, is important from the practical point of view. In this light we cannot underestimate the efforts currently expended by the Soviet Union and the United States, the initiatives of the Soviet Union and the proposals which will be made additionally.

Another important problem occupying the minds of humanity and keeping the Soviet Union and the United States from making progress is the Persian Gulf crisis. Here, the blame rests with two countries, Iran and Iraq, both non-aligned countries, who unleashed the war and provided an excuse for a foreign military presence in the Gulf. This problem can and must be solved. Even though it mainly concerns these two countries, it is also our responsibility, the responsibility of nations, parties, progressives who have an interest in peace, and we must influence Iran and Iraq to bring this war to an end.

The fight of the people of South Africa against apartheid is gaining momentum. It enjoys a great deal of support in the world at large, not excluding the United States. We must do everything in our power to support this struggle. There does exist a chance of success, a chance to do away, finally, with apartheid in South Africa.

In the Middle East, in Central America, in regions where international law is flagrantly violated, our responsibility is to seek the enforcement of international law, against adventurist militarist policy, for a peaceful solution of all problems.

We must first and foremost implement this series of measures which do not preclude other actions relevant to the life of peoples and nations. Yet

we believe that it is these measures that must be taken care of on a priority basis, in order to isolate the militarists and consolidate the peace movement.

Nicaragua, which is presently threatened with aggression condemned by the International Court of Justice would like to express its gratitude for the years of solidarity extended by the Soviet Union, by the entire socialist community, the European Economic Community, Northern countries, Arab countries, the Non-Aligned Movement, and all revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. This proved to be an invaluable factor of moral and material support to the revolution in Nicaragua. We appeal to you to keep up this support, since try as we might in Central America to find a peaceful solution, the United States rejects all peaceful proposals, which gives reasons to believe that the 14 months which are left to the present US administration will mark a period of tension in our region, and primarily towards our country.

I should like to thank Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev for the opportunity of attending this pluralist forum where the common desire for peace is all-pervading and where, as I have already said, we have everything we need to deal with concrete matters, which would, of course, promote the cause of peace. The process of renewal which is taking place in the Soviet Union must, in turn, be given our entire support. It must become our common interest, since it is part of the universal drive for peace.

I regret that I shall not be able to take part in the exchange of opinion at this forum, since I must leave in the afternoon to be in Nicaragua on November 5, the day the Guatemala agreements are due to take force. I should like once again to thank Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and the entire Soviet people for the opportunity to take part in the celebrations dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, for the chance to exchange opinions with you, and to give you the message from the people of Nicaragua.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party

Wojciech JARUZELSKI

Dear comrades and friends,

It is with profound satisfaction that we take part in this unprecedented forum. We thank our Soviet comrades for their initiative, hospitality, and the excellent conditions they created for a frank exchange of opinion. Each of us has a certain amount of experience, and each has personal ideas worth sharing with others.

There are no enemies among the left-wing forces. Each of them—communist and workers' parties, socialist and social-democratic parties, democratic and national-liberation movements—makes its contribution to the treasury of progressive political 20th-century thought.

We are in a new phase of constructive dialogue. On many crucial matters our opinions are either identical or quite close. Retaining their class, Marxist-Leninist essence, and simultaneously respecting the concrete historically-shaped conditions of each individual country, communist parties are now open for exchange of experience, cooperation and alliance with all genuine representatives of what is widely interpreted as left-wing and progressive forces.

The destiny of peace and progress depends, today more so than ever before, on economic and sociopolitical development of socialist countries, on the results of their peaceful offensive in the international arena. For this reason, the changes presently taking place in the Soviet Union and in many countries of the socialist community exert, and will continue to exert, an increasing influence on the world at large. I should like to call particular attention to two aspects of these changes.

For one thing, they consolidate the forces of peace, détente, dialogue and cooperation, leaving little room for manoeuvre to advocates of confrontation and militarists.

For another, they promote a greater-than-ever concordance and coordination among progressives and leftwingers without impinging upon the respect for individuality and independence of separate parties, movements and organizations.

The war infrastructure is well-developed today. Attempts to tear it down encounter the resistance of monopolies and the military-industrial complex, promising a long and difficult struggle. It is therefore imperative to create, with patience and, above all, persistence, the widest possible peace infrastructure, that is, a climate of cooperation and mutual responsibility. This stems from the growing interdependence of nations on the global scale not only in the sphere of international security, but also in such domains as international division of labour, joint health care and environ-

mental protection, the debt problem and rational consumption of natural resources. Peace means much more than mere absence of war. It also means the creation of better conditions for the development of nations and every individual, for a wider access to scientific and technological achievements, for channeling funds saved on armaments to poorly developed countries, for the elimination of hunger, backwardness and squalor.

Even though the main class contradictions in the world today are of an objective nature, they do not have to lead to confrontation and nuclear catastrophe.

New thinking, not excluding the readiness to compromise, is permeated with a special type of combativeness. It should be assessed in terms of large historical categories, for when we boldly come forth with peace initiatives, unmask advocates of confrontation and lay bare the real essence of militarism, we draw public opinion to the progressive side, restricting imperialist influence and blocking it from further expansion. Public opinion is a boost for all advocates of peace and democracy, for all the parties which are so well represented here, for all social forces and movements, for the countries which are direct targets of imperialist aggression, neocolonialism and racism.

It is to this that the persistently peaceful, principled and nevertheless realistic policy of the USSR is oriented. It enjoys total and active support of our party and state. In this sense, our thoughts and aspirations are going to be with you, Mikhail Sergeevich, when you attend the meeting with the President of the United States, the announcement about which filled us with satisfaction and hope. Our stand on this issue reflects the traditions which Poland has adhered to in its foreign policy for many years, a tradition we recently confirmed with our comprehensive plan for the reduction of armaments and consolidation of trust in Central Europe.

Comrades, the history of the past decades shows that all phenomena related to development in socialist countries, positive and negative alike, generated considerable reverberations in the thinking and activity of the world's progressives. The bourgeoisie, with its characteristic ruthlessness, made the best of our mistakes and miscalculations in its fight against the workers' movement and left-wing forces in the broad sense of the term in capitalist countries.

Polish communists are aware of the significance of this problem and of our internationalist duty. From this point of view, the changes now taking place in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries are an invaluable boon to progressive forces. They rob the forces of anticommunism and reaction of one of their strongest propaganda trumps. Simultaneously, these processes urge those social groups that have previously been wary of leftist programmes and slogans, to reconsider their positions.

It may well be that some of our decisions will appear insufficiently

radical or, vice versa, too far-reaching for some parties and movements. We, too, have our retrospective views on certain processes and phenomena in the world leftist movement.

Today we know that progress is a giant river with many tributaries. Great is the diversity of progressive, revolutionary and liberation forces in the modern world. I therefore believe that we can call our internationalist meeting an example of unity in diversity.

Each party has its own biography. It relates victories and losses, successes and mistakes. A person cannot hide his own biography from himself. Historical truth is, for communists, the main factor determining respect and confidence.

There is no doubt whatsoever that all of us present here are united by the awareness of the need to fight for peace and disarmament. There are also other points on which we stand close. To put it simply, we are all inevitably made allies by historically coinciding directions of our actions. Today, we must concentrate on what we really have in common and what brings us together rather than on whatever differences there might be.

In the times of imperialist intervention in Soviet Russia, millions of workers in all countries were inspired by the memorable slogan, Hands Off Russia!

Times have changed. Today, Soviet Russia is quite capable of looking after itself, of cherishing and protecting the gains of other revolutions. This does not mean, however, that it no longer needs understanding and support.

The reforms enacted in the Soviet Union today are a new revolutionary phase. It opens huge vistas to the world. For this reason, support to perestroika is, today, a new moral and political yardstick. It makes it possible to tell genuine peace proponents and advocates of social progress from all kinds of reactionaries and confrontationists.

Comrades, allow me to present you with a brief rendering of socialist construction in Poland. In the post-war period we, as many other socialist countries, have tried reforms. Until recently, however, we retreated or stopped halfway for various reasons. We lacked purposefulness and boldness. But we have learned our lesson.

As you comrades know, we gave a strict and principled assessment of past mistakes which brought our country to a deep recession. The forces of internal reaction raised their head. Poland became the object of particularly vicious imperialist attacks. All this caused untold damage. Things are still difficult, but we forge ahead nonetheless. The programme of all-round renewal adopted by the 9th emergency congress and confirmed at the 10th PUWP congress is acquiring a new dynamism today.

The implementation of profound reforms is a lengthy process, full of difficulties and obstacles. Human convictions are shaped by facts, not

words. It is easy to speak of the new. It is not easy to act in a new way. But it is probably most difficult of all to make unpopular decisions, to break long-standing habits.

We are at the beginning of our journey. We are filling the process of socialist democracy with practical contents, striving to entrench in each citizen the spirit of ownership by first of all giving our people the power to influence the state of things at their place of work, their town or village, the image of their country.

Every revolution, every progressive sociopolitical movement should be always careful not to lose contact with the masses, not to forfeit their confidence, and to avoid one of the greatest dangers, described by Lenin during the time the Soviet state was born—the danger of bureaucratic sclerosis and snobbery. There can be no better antidote against these than total openness, self-government, real democracy.

In the framework of what we call socialist pluralism and in accordance with the Constitution of Poland, we found a great deal of solutions, notably in the organizational and juridical fields, which account for the diversity of views and opinions. People are getting more and more opportunities to express themselves, to find practical creative application for their opinions.

The human being is socialism's ultimate value. We are aware that while quite justifiably viewing history and modern times mostly from the angle of the social role and gains of classes and larger social groups, we have not so far paid sufficient attention to the philosophy of man as a person, an individual with material and spiritual needs, to the question of the scale and scope of a person's rights and freedoms. With all due respect for collectivism, we should pay more attention to what may be called socialist personalism.

Our experience is, in our opinion, useful in a situation when historically shaped, highly specific factors have to be geared to meet the needs and goals of a new social system. Among other things, this is the goal of our concept of national consensus, which includes the relationship with the church and an active programme for bringing waverers to our side. As we know, many other parties think and act the way we do.

The exchange of experience among parties of the socialist community has recently acquired particularly vibrant working forms permeated with confidence and mutual respect. We believe that they deserve the attention of all those present. On our part, we would very much like to study the experience of other parties and progressive movements. Today's meeting is a graphic illustration of the value of such contacts.

In conclusion, let me convey to all of you, dear comrades and friends, greetings on behalf of PUWP, and best wishes for every success in your work for the benefit of the working people, along with health and personal welfare.

Member of the Political Commission and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Chile

Volodia TEITELBOIM

Dear comrades and friends,

I prepared the text of my speech in advance, but after hearing what the other participants had to say, I felt I had to change it in order to make the most of our multilateral dialogue. In the end, each of us is the product of national realities. Yet, this forum also heard the voices of five billion people, who live on a troubled planet called Earth. Earth belongs to people, and neither she, nor we want to perish after a new apocalypse, or for our planet to be transformed into a lifeless body.

The representative of the Indian National Congress who spoke here this morning emphasized the need to employ the collective wisdom of humanity. Today, as never before, man must think. I say this because we do not always behave as sapient beings. In the philosophical sphere, we materialists believe in morals. Politics cannot be surrendered to cynics. The ultimate ethic is respect for the human being. This is the main law governing our behaviour.

Man cannot forever remain hostage and victim to evil warmongers, reactionaries and fascists, to injustice and hunger. Man must be truly free, free too from terror and from night raids. I say this as a Latin American, as a citizen of Chile, where the night is the time for disappearances and the murder of great numbers of people whose bodies are seldom recovered.

Latin America is no longer what it was. No longer does it dance to Washington's tune. This is confirmed by recent triumphs in the political, military and diplomatic spheres in heroic Nicaragua, whose President Daniel Ortega spoke before here with such vividness, logic and total moral justification. Peace can dawn on Central America despite all the blind inhuman obsessions of President Reagan. Here, truly, is His Majesty unclothed by Irangate.

Together with two compañeros from our delegation who work in the midst of popular masses, together with compatriots from Chile's Socialist and Radical Parties, we came straight from our country to Moscow, to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. I've recently participated in an underground plenary session of our party's Central Committee in Santiago. The report presented at the session provides a profound analysis of the situation in the country and confirms the intention of using all available means to oppose the military fascist dictatorship. The report also gives an analytical rendering of perestroika in the USSR, the central event of today's world.

Dear comrades, in Chile we had a chance to see what a nation struggling against a tyrannical oppressor is like. With every step one takes, one hears slogans which come from the depths of the popular mass: Death to Pinochet! Down with Dictatorship! For Democracy and Freedom! The People United Cannot Be Defeated!

These days, the words "Long Live the Glorious October Revolution!"

have started to appear on the walls of houses. As you see, the October Revolution remains very much alive for our people. It is an event pointed into the future. We are certain that its victorious stride will grow ever quicker. We are also no less certain that the people of Chile will emerge victorious from their struggle.

We are sincerely grateful for the solidarity and help extended to our people by the parties and movements represented here.

In his speech earlier today, Comrade Gorbachev said that one cannot play around with history. So let's not be sly and naïve. Let us be simply honest, let us pay attention to the demands of the times mentioned by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: the need to survive, comprehension of the interdependence of nations, the fight against biological dangers brought by lethal incurable diseases, against stifling psychological stress in overcrowded megacities, against aggravated depression syndromes in everyday life, which is increasingly alienated from nature, which, by the way, is also in deadly danger.

But how to go about sending archaic thinking stereotypes to the rarities museum? Without new thinking, politicians are sure to fail, while the suffering and unhappiness of their nations will continue to grow in isolation from progress, that highway to the future. Nothing could be worse than being late for historic change. The risk is considerable if we fail to realize what our country is like and what times we live in. We live in a time which may decide everything, a time of enigmas and questions begging for accurate answers, including that question of questions—the life or death of humanity. A mere 50 years ago, the haunting problem of whether the entire human race is mortal, would have appeared nonsensical.

The syllogism that all men are mortal is known to everyone from their school days. Yet, the thought that mankind can perish after one, two or three nuclear strikes, never occurred to people. Needless to say, humankind is worth saving. It is for this reason that we are here. We must heed humanity's SOS and come to its aid.

The modern concept of revolution also needs an injection of new thinking. I am convinced both that revolution is necessary, and that it requires no schemes whatsoever. Life and revolutionary ways are so diverse that even Gabriel García Márquez' flight of fantasy would probably fall short of the truth. All revolutions are sisters or cousins or, in any case, relatives. Yet, no one of them can be another's twin. They are different, unique, inimitable in their features and forms, even if their general content is the same.

The majority of nations believe that if a society lacks justice, then it is improperly put together and must be radically improved.

I agree that the so-called Third World is not the last. People are starting to talk about a Fourth and even a Fifth World. But in fact, there is only one world, only one ship with all of us on board. The world will not tolerate exploitation any longer. The dissatisfied citizens of the planet have no desire to live as before, and they are a clear majority. They have no use for Western

philanthropy, they need a new international economic order, a new society.

The vicious ingenuity, the potential for misinforming and misleading, yielded to the rich by the media which formulate false consciousness, knows no bounds. Yet, despite mountains of lies which daily tumble on the heads of nations, capitalism loses prestige, whereas the prestige of socialism grows.

The enemy is cunning and wary. It is quite possible that he is better than we are in fabricating images and reflecting the real world in a distorted way. He is quick to make use of scientific and technological breakthroughs, which is why we must hurry in all spheres, and accelerate thought and deed. We have no choice but to overcome theoretical deficiencies and give answers to new problems without relying on dogmas.

Two calamities, far worse than biblical ones, have fallen upon peoples: militarization and unequal exchange. What we are dealing with is not the end of socialism and revolution, but a new dawn, provided we do everything for the sun to rise, for night to recede with its ominous apprehensions and shadows, among which the mushroom cloud is discernible at times.

Today, however, is not a time for unhappy thoughts. It is a time of inspiration for communists, the forces of socialism and progress throughout the world.

I fully agree with Comrade Gorbachev, with his bold and necessary idea: the communist movement must be renewed. There is many a stagnant phenomenon in our house, and we shall profit immensely from renewal. In many cases, we must not ignore the individuality of our nations and countries. Our duty is to understand them correctly, and to change the situation accordingly. We must also remember that we are not standing alone before this problem. The forces of progress are legion, and we must come to terms with them. Yes, dialogue is required to decide on basic priorities of action. Humanity has a right to exist. The peoples are entitled to their share of justice and happiness in this world.

To attain this, minds must be awoken, rose-tinted or dark glasses removed, and the reality of our days, realistically looked at. That is why we need to meet and agree on our actions—actions of communists, socialists, social-democrats, left-wing parties, christians, other religious, political and philosophical circles. After all, the destiny of humanity and all generations present and future is no joke. It makes sense to talk, so that we may determine our responsibilities and evaluate losses. Each of us should try to change his or her self to live up to the standards of late 20th century human beings. We hope that the life of our children, which will pass in the 21st century, will be a happier one.

Chairman of the Communist Party of Finland

Arvo AALTO

Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me, on behalf of the Communist Party of Finland, to convey comradely greetings full of brotherly solidarity to all representatives of communist, socialist and social-democratic parties, national liberation movements and other democratic forces, who are present here. Finnish communists are making their contribution to the joint struggle waged by progressives in all countries of the world for peace, disarmament, liberty of nations, democratic international relations and social progress.

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we would like to convey our fraternal greetings to the Soviet Union, the Soviet people and especially the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, with which the Communist Party of Finland has a tradition of long-standing close cooperation based on international solidarity. We also express our sincere gratitude for the invitation to participate in this relevant and important international conference.

In 1917, the October Revolution opened the way to a new previously unknown type of society, whose theoretical basis had been elaborated by renowned scholars, fathers of contemporary social science—Marx, Engels and Lenin.

The goals put forth by the October Revolution in 1917 were grandiose in scale and scope: autocratic tsarist rule, capitalist relations with feudal survivals in the sphere of production, squalor and general plight of wide masses were to give way to a society of democracy, a society based on the latest achievements of science and technology, a society able to meet the interests and aspirations of the people, a just society free of oppression and exploitation of any kind. The situation in the world at the time put the builders of the new society before another formidable task: the first socialist state was to provide an example for the working class in other countries, for revolutionary forces. It was expected. Furthermore, the country used Lenin's peaceful foreign policy to implement the powerful slogan "No More Wars in the Future".

In what was historically a brief period, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics became a mighty, well-developed socialist state. The endurance of the country's social system was tested in the world war that was unleashed by Hitler's Germany. History and humanity will never forget the decisive contribution made by the Soviet Union, the Red Army and the Soviet people during many years of fighting, to the repulse of fascism and Nazi aggression.

The rapid development of the world's first socialist society was practi

cal proof to the international workers' movement, and to the working class of Finland, that socialism is more advantageous and progressive than the capitalist social system could ever be. The October Revolution had a mesmerizing quality, it was an inspiration, an example of what to hope for in the future. This example supported the working people in capitalist countries in their struggle for their rights and interests. It was, in fact, a serious challenge to capitalist countries, one that affected their internal development.

Unfortunately, this was later marred, first by the suspicion, and then by the knowledge, that socialism had not created a reality worthy of its ideals, that democracy had been incomplete. As the years passed, the question which should have probably been asked long ago loomed with increasing urgency: Why does not socialism make the most of human creativity, initiative, activeness and responsibility as its central ideal would suggest? These changes and development are clearly specified by Marx for the individual. And also: Why did socialism continue to resolve contradictions with methods that suppressed individuality and restricted human freedom long after antagonistic contradictions had been dealt with, and despite the fact that in most capitalist countries, contradictions were regulated so as to strengthen the society's vitality, the suppression apparatus was moved to the background, and those in power relied mainly on stimulation and material encouragement? Life also posed many similar questions.

Clearly, the difficulties and mistakes which cropped up during socialist construction detracted from the magnetism of October Revolution in capitalist countries, not excluding Finland.

Dear comrades and friends,

It is to the future that our thoughts must turn.

We live in a world of previously undreamt-of possibilities. Yet, it is also a world of fear and danger. Many things require reassessment, novel approaches and new thinking. Nuclear bombs cannot drive fear from the minds of people. Nor can they provide security. Provision of security presupposes a state of world-wide peace, and the existence of relations and structures which guarantee peace and promote equal peaceful cooperation. It is also imperative to dissolve the threat of ecological catastrophe, to do away with hunger and squalor, and to give decent living conditions to the billions of newborn. There is a sore need for a public opinion which would reject the arms race outright, demanding guarantees of peace and the adoption of other decisions required to secure the future of humanity. This public opinion will evolve on more than class aspirations alone; it will also stem from a conscious desire to prevent nuclear war capable of destroying everything that lives. It is also necessary to develop the United Nations in accordance with these principles.

I support Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's opinion that the world should not be regarded from the angle of two hostile social systems.

Rivalry between socialism and capitalism heats up tension on a global scale. Millions have yet to decide which of the two systems is better, but the contest between them cannot be won in the arms race, which defies common sense, by stockpiling weapons or increasing the strength of armies. The pressing task which faces socialist and capitalist countries today is the eradication of the very thought of war as a means of solving contradictions, and the development of conditions under which the two social systems could engage in all-out competition and prove their advantageousness in peaceful spheres of life, conditions which would provide peoples with the chance to pick the social system they think best, without any outside pressure, interference, or threat of such pressure and interference.

In the end, social systems will be judged by their ability to create the best possible conditions for individual development, to develop powerful stimuli for action and for bearing responsibility for actions, and to embody man's age-old dream of freedom.

In the state it is in today, world economic management will have to be improved before ruthless consumption of natural resources is prohibited, ecological equilibrium is attained and backwardness overcome. The economy which functions in accordance with the imperialist interests of transnational monopolies is powerless to neutralize gaping inequality, mass unemployment, social problems and hardships. These last persist even where material wealth is great. The world needs a new economic order.

A new hope has appeared in the world full of contradictions. For this, we should first and foremost thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, as well as the boldness with which it openly gave the country's social system a shake, the will it exercises in its decisive efforts to build a society in accordance with true socialist standards.

It is with great interest and respect that we witness the new development that is known as perestroika in the world. In 1956, the 20th Congress of the CPSU attested to the communists' principled nature and moral strength by condemning Stalin's transgressions. More recently, the CPSU has proposed to investigate hitherto unsolved crimes against innocent people which were committed in Stalin's time. The 27th Congress of the CPSU adopted the inspiring programme of perestroika, which the Soviet communists, despite the difficulties, are implementing successfully. The success of this programme and the policy behind it is certain to restore the magnetic quality of the October Revolution. We applaud the transformation of socialism in the spirit of perestroika and glasnost for the benefit of

the Soviet people and all humanity. We wish the CPSU and its leadership every success in the decisive realization of this programme of reform.

The greatest single problem in this day and age is the elimination of nuclear arms and other weapons of mass destruction everywhere on the planet. This is the common goal of all peace-loving and progressive forces in the world. To attain this goal, new large-scale international cooperation is called for.

The initiatives of the CPSU and the Soviet government are aimed at the attainment of peace and disarmament, and as such enjoy our party's total support. Anyone following international developments could testify that it was these initiatives and the wise flexibility, the active resolute struggle for their implementation that brought the much-needed results, which open the way towards a crucial pivot in reducing and eliminating weapons of mass annihilation and consolidating peaceful cooperation.

Our party believes that in order to avert nuclear catastrophe, coordination of efforts on the part of the international workers' movement is required. Of course, the various parts of this movement hold different views on the direction of social development. But these ideological and political differences must not stand in the way of cooperation in such matters as should be solved if mankind is to have a future. Besides elimination of weapons of mass destruction, these problems include the fight against environmental pollution, the prevention of exhaustion of natural resources, along with the provision of aid to peoples living in poverty and backwardness. Our party hopes that the wide international workers' movement rallies to solve these problems.

Dear comrades,

This year we celebrate the 70th anniversary of Finland's independence as a state. The independence of our country, actively sought by the old guard of the workers' movement in Finland, came as a result, and for Finns the dearest result, of the October Revolution. The unarguable historical truth is that Finland became a sovereign nation 70 years ago precisely because the October Revolution in Russia voiced its respect for the right of nations to self-determination. This policy was confirmed by the Decree on the Independence of Finland, signed by Lenin in December 1917.

We attach particular value to friendly relations and the trust that exists between the Soviet Union and Finland. These relations are based on the 1948 treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance. This agreement provides firm grounds for Finland's peaceful foreign policy and neutrality.

Our party deems it crucial for the governments of the Soviet Union and Finland to develop further political cooperation in the struggle for peace, détente and disarmament. The recent official visit by Mauno Koivisto, the President of the Republic of Finland, to the USSR, and the results of talks

in Moscow, show that there exist good possibilities in this sphere, and that actions taken by the two governments must be based on initiative and resolve.

Recently, two concrete proposals have been made to transform Northern Europe into a land of peace. They pertain to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, and security in northern seas. Now that a treaty on the elimination of medium-range missiles is just a step away, the institution of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe would provide a favourable influence on further relaxation of tension in other parts of Europe.

The majority of the population in Northern Europe—and this is confirmed in a variety of ways—supports the idea of the nuclear-free zone. The Soviet Union has for its part declared its readiness to launch the necessary procedures. The idea is opposed by NATO and the United States. But they, too, must yield to the will of our peoples. CPSU Central Committee General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev spoke in Murmansk about a peace programme for Arctic territories. The programme agrees with the views on security in northern seas, expressed earlier by the President of the Republic of Finland. We are convinced that these initiatives will also receive the support of the majority of peoples in Northern European countries.

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev,

Finland awaits your visit, the visit of the politician who won enormous repute with his bold ideas which open new vistas and offer humanity hope.

Your visit, Comrade Gorbachev, is certain to become an important landmark in the development of Soviet-Finnish relations, which offer a positive example to all countries.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist)

E. M. S. NAMBOODIRIPAD

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the CPI(M) I thank the leadership of the CPSU for providing us with the opportunity to participate in this informal meeting to exchange views on the most important questions facing the world today.

This meeting acquires added significance because it is being held on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution which ushered in a new era in human history, played a decisive role in the victory over fascism, and since then continues to decisively influence the course of human development.

Our party has been closely following the policies pursued by the CPSU particularly since the April 1985 Plenary Meeting in respect of resolving the contradictions between the rapidly growing productive forces and production relations which were not found commensurate with the requirements of the advanced socialist society and the struggle which the Soviet Union has carried to save humanity from a nuclear holocaust and to defeat the manoeuvres of imperialism to unleash a new war.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) wishes the CPSU, the working class and the people of the Soviet Union success in their great venture of the 15-year plan. It is confident that the steps being taken now to reorganise and restructure production will enable the Soviet people to reach the declared objective of the 15-year plan and reorganise their economy at a speed required to meet the potentialities of the present period.

The CPI(M) has closely followed the documents of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and the new turn that the Party seeks to give in management and in spreading socialist democracy, in order to correct with rapidity the past mistakes and shortcomings, which is necessary for the rapid development of productive forces and for strengthening socialist democracy in the present stage of socialist society. Progress towards communism cannot be imagined without drawing millions into solving the production tasks and running the state as Lenin taught. The CPI(M) wishes success to the CPSU in this policy of expanding democracy to the widest corners of society.

The CPI(M) is confident that in making the new turn there will be an objective assessment of past achievements and mistakes and that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism which have brought success to the CPSU will be safeguarded and enriched.

The revolution brought a new concept of foreign relations based on Marx's teachings, on proletarian internationalism. The Decree on Peace drafted by Lenin and adopted by the Soviets of workers', soldiers', and

peasants' deputies called for peace without annexations and indemnities, without occupation of foreign land and proclaimed principles of equality and freedom of all nations.

Since then the Soviet Union has been waging a relentless struggle for peace and against war throughout the difficult years of the last seven decades. It did its best to protect peace collectively against aggression. Those who opposed it had to pay a heavy price for their treachery.

In defending the world against the fascist onslaught the Soviet Union, its people, men and women had to shed their blood and to sacrifice their lives in millions. The resistance and victory of the Soviet Union at a time when all of Europe lay paralysed and conquered by Hitler was the only hope of humanity. The resistance and military skill of the Soviet Union turned the tide against fascism and opened the way to quick transformatory changes in the world.

Today the banner of socialism waves over one-third of the world; the old colonial system stands smashed with former enslaved nations like India emerging as free nations playing a role in the world arena.

The Soviet Union relentlessly pursues its quest for world peace. Its voice has repeatedly sounded out a warning against the destructive consequences of a nuclear war. It has repeatedly warned that in a nuclear war there are no victors, all are losers. It has made several proposals for curbing, restricting and finally eliminating all nuclear weapons. It made sweeping proposals at Reykjavik. Today also negotiations are going on for the withdrawal of intermediate missiles from Europe.

Millions all over the world appreciate and hail this great fight for peace waged by the Soviet Union supported by the socialist countries. The great peace movement is a standing testimony to it. The fight for peace, for international relations based on equality and freedom, has now been transformed into a fight for human existence against nuclear war. Proletarian internationalism is now identified with man's right to exist.

But the danger of war is not reducing. It continues to intensify with the US plan for "star wars". Whence this insanity, this recklessness, towards human existence? Two class lines flowing from two different social systems are coming into conflict. The Soviet socialist system free from exploitation, crises and unemployment requires peace for its continued expansion and advance. The imperialist system with its taste and traditions of global domination is unable to reject war and is prepared to try its luck in a war which may threaten human existence.

The unity of the working class and the people of the world can of course defeat the imperialist plans. But its outlook cannot be changed. In these circumstances it is atrocious to talk about two superpowers, two war camps and so on. This only offers an alibi to imperialism and the forces of war. Those who cannot see the distinction between the socialist camp and

the imperialist camp must be deemed to have lost all sense of history and reality. Partisanship of the socialist camp and the socialist countries in the struggle for peace and against imperialism is a basic condition of proletarian internationalism in the present times. Those who are unable to grasp this are in effect abandoning all sense of international solidarity.

There is no doubt that the struggle against war, the struggle for peace has become the dominant question of our time. It is therefore natural that it should invite the concentrated attention of all progressive forces, classes and political parties. But that is no reason why other important questions should be ignored by the international communist movement and by progressive forces and parties. The struggle of the peoples of newly liberated countries is a very important component of present-day realities. Success in this struggle for the consolidation of independence, defence of national unity, democratic reforms, defence of democracy and advance to socialism is important in the advance of the world struggle for socialism.

But it cannot be said that this struggle of millions of people from several continents really finds the place in the international counsels that it should. It is our experience that a number of progressive and socialist governments concentrate their attention only on the governments of newly liberated countries, many of whom adopt a progressive foreign policy of non-alignment. The importance of non-alignment and the governments pursuing it is, of course, great.

But these countries fail to understand that the same governments not only pursue such internal policies which allow the transnational corporations to make inroads into our economy but also resort to attacks on democratic rights of the people and try to suppress the mass movements of workers, peasants and other toiling millions who are fighting not only for the defence of their interests but also for social advance. Faced with the isolation from the people, the government compromises with communal and divisive forces to remain in power and thus weakens national unity. Imperialism exploits this situation and uses different levers to pressure such governments into compromising their positions on important issues. This also lays the basis for the rightist forces to launch an attack on the policy of non-alignment itself.

The failure to see this creates a gulf between the working class and the democratic movements of newly liberated countries and the socialist movements abroad.

The increased economic strength of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries has been of great help to many Third World countries. India in particular has been greatly helped by the aid given by the Soviet Union in the struggle to build its public sector in strategic industries and the struggle for the self-reliance of its economy. Without this valuable aid, which was rendered possible because of the increased strength of the socialist Soviet

economy, India would have been in a very different plight. Even now she is feeling increasingly the pressure of imperialism and during the last 40 years Soviet aid has been an instrument of fighting this pressure. The last four decades since our independence show a history of growing Indo-Soviet friendship and economic aid, which finally led to the Indo-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Peace and Cooperation which strengthens India's security as well as sense of friendship with the Soviet Union. It has been our endeavour to see that this friendship continue to strengthen and the people of the two countries come closer and closer. India's non-alignment policy is an important factor which weighs in favour of world peace. The Joint Declaration between Gorbachev and India's Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi on the question of peace is an important document which seals the friendship between the two countries as well as their common understanding in pursuing the struggle against war and for maintaining peace.

The 70th anniversary of the October Revolution reveals striking progress not only in the Soviet Union but in the entire socialist camp. Still, it cannot be said that the situation is entirely satisfactory. The socialist camp, which is the biggest achievement of the revolutionary struggle of the working class, today stands disunited. Though there is some progress and better understanding among the two main stalwarts of the camp, the situation is far from what is expected, far from the unity and the common will that are expected in the socialist camp. Secondly, the great communist movement of our times is far from showing the granite unity of communist parties about which Lenin spoke. The international meeting of communist parties held in 1960 warned the world communist movement against the danger of revisionist deviation. But unfortunately that deviation seems to have spread to a number of countries. The illusions about the peaceful path, the rejection of the Marxist concept of dictatorship of the proletariat and of proletarian internationalism all face us today, showing the disunity of the movement. Instead of concretely applying the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism to the concrete conditions of their own countries, parties abandon the basic principles themselves. The 1960 document also warned against the appearance of dogmatic deviation which has also done great harm and served to divide the communist movement. I only hope that this great occasion of the celebration of this 70th anniversary will inspire all of us to reach a better understanding of the basic principles which made this epoch-making event possible, to refurbish our understanding of the great invincible doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and reforge the unity of the international communist movement.

Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia

Gustáv HUSÁK

Esteemed comrades,
Friends,
Ladies and gentlemen,

I would first of all like to express my sincere gratitude to our Soviet comrades who organized this important meeting of the representatives of parties and movements taking part in the celebrations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Moscow. We are thankful for an opportunity to engage in a comprehensive democratic exchange of opinions on pressing problems of our times at this distinguished meeting. I am honoured to convey to all those present in this hall the greetings of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, the Central Committee of our National Front, and the entire Czechoslovak people.

Our Communist Party is purposefully pursuing the policy of promoting international cooperation. We attach particular importance to relations with communist and workers' parties and national liberation and other progressive democratic movements, to contacts with socialist, social-democratic and other parties. We maintain solidarity with the struggle for freedom and the rights of nations. We give our total backing to the large-scale international activities of the organizations in our National Front within the framework of the world trade union movement, the democratic movement of young people, women, cooperators, athletes and other social groups. A broad response is evoked in our country by peace proposals made by scientists, doctors, workers in the field of the arts and other representatives of world public. We advocate open dialogue with anyone who is willing to engage in it, whatever political, philosophical or religious differences there might be.

We consider such an approach imperative. We are all aware of the drastic developments which have taken place in the world in the last few decades. The dynamic scale and scope of revolutionary reforms in all spheres have no parallel. One-third of the world's population is already following the socialist path. Dozens of newly-free states rose from the ruins of colonial empires and took the path of independent development. The authority and prestige of progressive and democratic forces are growing. Millions of people in the developing world are waging a struggle for basic conditions of life and human dignity.

The problems and contradictions of a world which is uniform and at the same time divided are magnified by the revolution in science and technology with dramatic inevitability. On the one hand, this revolution re-

leases gigantic potential, entailing unprecedented material, social and spiritual progress, changing living conditions and inspiring legitimate hopes. On the other hand, it generates danger and risk, creating a series of interconnected global problems.

The most important thing is, doubtless, the preservation of the human race, its survival and peaceful future. Huge stockpiles of weapons of unheard-of destructive power threaten the very existence of the planet. The only guarantees of a peaceful future are peaceful coexistence and stage-by-stage disarmament.

There are also other important problems. The ecological situation is deteriorating. The gap between developed and underdeveloped countries grows wider. External debts are snowballing. For all the progress modern science and technology have to offer, they rob millions of their jobs and of a future in a considerable part of the world.

Progressive and democratic forces are becoming increasingly aware that the resolution of global problems requires joint analysis of the possibilities and a search for ways out and measures to promote peaceful development, social progress, independence and free development of nations, all of which spell a better life for mankind. Our meeting today is proof of this.

Time places us before the need to extend constructive cooperation among socialist, developing and capitalist states in the political, economic, cultural and other spheres. Experience shows that ideological and other differences must not hamper wide-scale cooperation on the basis of respect and mutual advantage. There are problems which concern all mankind. Their solution is conditioned by the coordination of efforts on the part of the entire international community.

We believe that it is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to which goes much of the credit for initiating the new approach to modern global problems and endorsing a new way of thinking in international relations. This concept, which develops socialism's humane essence, was convincingly presented here today by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Peaceful initiatives and the efforts of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries point a realistic way to stop the arms race, eliminate the nuclear threat, and create a comprehensive system of international security which could once and for all free the life of mankind of wars.

Czechoslovakia sincerely applauds the agreement reached by the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of medium-and shorter-range missiles. We regard it as an important step towards nuclear disarmament, a step which, we believe, will be followed by others.

Problems of peace and disarmament are to a growing extent involving wide international circles of democratic public, which now discerns its re-

lationship to freeing the resources necessary to solve the world's pressing problems.

Our time opens new vistas in the struggle of communist and workers' parties, revolutionary-democratic, national-revolutionary, socialist and other progressive movements. Granted, there do exist differences in opinion and various concepts of social development. The conditions under which these parties and movements operate are also different. And yet, there is the need to invigorate the colossal social potential of peace and progress. To this end, we must develop the widest possible cooperation, based on equality, self-dependence, respect for the views of every party and its responsibility before its people.

As for Czechoslovakia, we pursue the objective of accelerating socio-economic development, restructuring the economic mechanism and other spheres, consolidating socialist democracy and improving the realization of the potential offered by socialism. This programme is supported by the overwhelming majority of Czechoslovakia's working people. Our vital interest in constructive international cooperation stems from the very essence of our social system. We are resolved to make the best contribution to the efforts aimed at the peaceful solution of the most important problem of our times—the fight for peace and progress.

Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party of Mozambique

Marselino dos SANTOS

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union,
Dear Comrades and friends,

With a feeling of great emotion and friendship we convey warm fraternal greetings from the Frelimo Party and the people of Mozambique to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Soviet people, and to all organizations and peoples represented here.

Our delegation is particularly grateful to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for its initiative with this meeting, which is attended by representatives of organizations and parties from all continents, who came to Moscow to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We have gathered here for a collective exchange of experience, for a discussion of the contribution made by each of us separately, and by all of us together to the promotion of peace and socio-economic progress, and to the happiness and wellbeing of the working people—that is, the values established by the October Revolution.

Dear Comrades and friends,

The victorious October Revolution opened new horizons to the world-wide revolutionary process. The working people of Russia, the bearers of the Revolution, took power, defended it and managed to hold it. Thus, the world's first socialist state was born.

All over the planet, the people who are fighting for freedom, independence, progress, peace, democracy and justice hailed the triumph of the October Revolution as their own, and have always held the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people in the highest esteem.

The Great October Socialist Revolution launched the process of colonial liberation and formation of free states. Today, after 70 years, the October Revolution is regarded by all humanity as a powerful factor in universal liberation of colonial peoples. This meeting which has started work here in the Kremlin today is a testimonial that the Great October Socialist Revolution is a powerful force of freedom, peace and progress.

Dear Comrades and friends,

The Frelimo Party and the People's Republic of Mozambique have a high regard for the part played by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the building of the Soviet state, for the CPSU's loyalty to the cause of constant improvement of the wellbeing of Soviet people.

The urgency of the October Revolution, the life-giving force of its ideals which are translated into deeds by the Communist Party of the So-

viet Union, find expression in the major achievements that have transformed the USSR into a world power with a highly developed industry and agriculture, a force to be reckoned with in the international arena.

The urgency of the October Revolution also finds expression in the impressive results attained by Lenin's country in both cultural and material spheres.

The vitality of the October Revolution is confirmed in the process of accelerated development of socialist society and the individual in this society—the bearer of constantly growing spiritual and material values; in the process in the course of which the efforts of one become closely intertwined with the efforts of society; in the process under which the emergence of the new man with a high level of spiritual development can act as a guarantee of progressive development of society in which he is master.

The vitality of Soviet policy also manifests itself in the firm resolve of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union to create a reliable basis for peace, to take urgent steps which could, here and now, become part of the overall process guaranteeing the preservation of peace.

The peaceful initiatives elaborated and put forward by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union under the guidance of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev are a hymn to the future.

The Frelimo Party applauds the forthcoming meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and US President Ronald Reagan scheduled for this December.

Dear Comrades and friends,

Allow me to describe the situation in the south of Africa.

The people of Mozambique with the Frelimo Party at the helm is continuing to wage its resolute struggle for the consolidation of national independence and for economic development.

In this struggle, the People's Republic of Mozambique acts side by side with other countries in the south of Africa in order to overcome backwardness, attain economic independence and peace, to provide for stability and progress in this region of the globe.

These actions by the peoples of the south of Africa, which are aimed at their spiritual and material development, are proceeding against a background of mounting confrontation with the criminal racist minority regime of South Africa, the regime of apartheid.

Apartheid is an obstacle in the way towards development, progress and peace in the south of Africa.

Apartheid is, in the words of President Samora Moises Machel, the Nazism of our times. Apartheid is a crime against humanity. Apartheid is a destabilizing influence on countries in the south of Africa. The only right which the regime of apartheid guarantees is the right of the Whites to oppress Blacks. In so doing, apartheid promotes degradation of white people.

Denying Blacks the right to living conditions worth a human being, the apartheid thereby also degrades Black people.

Such is the reality of apartheid. It explains why armed bandits in Mozambique are quite capable of setting fire to, and destroying a busload of people, of breaking into a hospital to kill the sick, as happened in the village of Homoine, or to enter the maternity ward and murder pregnant women.

Such is the reality of apartheid if things are called by their right names. It is imperative to have the clear understanding and conviction that apartheid cannot be reformed. I am certain that there is not a single person among those present who would even think of reforming Nazism. Well, that is why apartheid must be destroyed.

Proceeding from this reality, the peoples in the south of Africa are entering the struggle for economic and social development of their countries with growing resolution, and stepping up their joint struggle against direct and indirect aggression of the South African regime.

The goals have been specified. The countries of the south of Africa, which have different social and economic systems, are pooling their efforts for joint development, implementing programmes and projects on the reciprocal basis, and developing and consolidating relations of solidarity and mutual assistance.

All of us, the entire international community, have to extend a helping hand to the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, headed by the ANC and SWAPO, in order to promote their struggle for justice, equality and independence.

At the same time the international community is called upon to give political, economic and military aid to the frontline states, and to apply comprehensive sanctions against the South African regime.

In this regard, it is imperative for the UN Security Council to execute the will of nations and adopt a decision on sanctions against South Africa.

Allow me, Comrades, to use this rostrum to once again express on behalf of our party, government and people gratitude to the parties, organizations, governments, and international organizations for the support which enables us to implement both the programme of economic reconstruction and the programme of urgent development, at the same time repelling the armed aggression of the apartheid regime, and thus to cope with our difficulties.

Dear Comrades and friends,

The process of development in our country and in the entire region is a powerful practical instrument of people's liberation and of doing away with apartheid. It is also an instrument for building up relations of cooperation and solidarity with the overwhelming majority of nations regardless of their political, economic and social systems.

Actions for the sake of peace and cooperation between all countries and peoples, which the USSR proclaims and actively promotes, are welcomed by the Frelimo Party and the People's Republic of Mozambique.

Dear Comrades and friends,

Let our meeting become the prototype of an assembly of nations expressing their firm resolve to live in peace and harmony.

Once again, greetings to all representatives of organizations and peoples from different continents.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live friendship and cooperation among nations!

Long live the just struggle of oppressed nations!

The revolution will be victorious!

Socialism will be victorious!

The struggle continues!

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Sudanese Communist Party

Mohammed NUGUD

Allow me to express my gratitude to Comrade Gorbachev and the CPSU Central Committee, and to convey greetings to the participants in this forum. I believe that this is a new form of exchange of opinions on problems of our times, rather than the old form, when we only read prepared speeches. I therefore restrict myself to a single question—the struggle by the peoples of my country and the region for peace and nuclear disarmament. I also plan to describe the specific forms which this struggle is assuming in my country—the Sudan. Naturally, these forms are diverse. The motivations for this struggle of the people of the Sudan are different from those of the Soviet people, the peoples of the Federal Republic of Germany, France or the United States.

We started our peace campaign within the framework of the worldwide movement in 1950-1951 by collecting signatures under the Stockholm Appeal. However ordinary people kept asking, "What is Stockholm? What does it mean?" Since then, we've learned to choose applicable forms, methods, and words comprehensible for our people. Profound changes have taken place in the political awareness of our people. They have found out many things about the struggle for peace. However, the approach to peace-related problems remains specific and concrete.

The first factor which shapes this approach is the nonacceptance of military bases. Since the fifties, we have opposed the military blocs of the Middle East Pact, the Baghdad Pact, and the Eisenhower Plan. In the 70s and early 80s we opposed the stand taken by former President Nemery, who intended to let the United States establish military bases in Sudan's territory, including on the Red Sea coast, and to provide territories in the west of the country for nuclear waste disposal sites. He also agreed to host manoeuvres of the Rapid Deployment Forces and sanctioned base camps for sabotage units acting against Libya. However, in March 1985 our people deposed the Nemery regime and suspended his agreements with the United States. We are continuing our struggle to prevent the Sudan from becoming a bridgehead for subversion against Africa's revolutionary regimes.

The second consideration underlying the approach of our people to the problems of peace has to do with regional and local wars: the war in the Persian Gulf, the concentration of US naval forces there, the war in Chad which involves French troops, the despicable behaviour of South Africa's racist regime and its undeclared war against the peoples of Namibia, Angola and Mozambique. These explosive areas detract from the security of the Red Sea region and threaten its southern exits to the Indian Ocean and

the northern exits to the Mediterranean, not to mention the sovereignty and security of African and Arab nations.

Proceeding from this premise, our people sides with forces of peace in the struggle to turn the Indian Ocean, the Mediterranean and the Red Sea into zones of lasting peace. It is from these positions that we are starting to realize how sovereignty and independence of our country depend on the successful solution of the problems of disarmament and universal peace.

The third consideration pertains to the just resolution of the Palestinian problem, which implies the removal of Israeli troops from territories occupied in 1967, and Israeli withdrawal from the south of Lebanon. The people of Palestine must be allowed to return home and form an independent state. Here our people are faced with the expansionist nature of Israel and its nuclear aspirations.

The fourth consideration underlying our people's approach to peace-related problems is that disarmament could release huge material and financial wealth which could help the development of newly-free countries. There are no social groups interested in a world war in our country. The problem, however, lies in that the overwhelming majority of our people is as yet not aware of the dangers of nuclear war. It remains for us to enlighten them.

On the basis of what I have just said, I should like to exchange opinions on the following problems. How can the African peace movement be united? How to manage the struggle of African nations for sovereignty and security on a continental scale?

I also ask myself other questions: Should we perhaps start by consolidating the movement of solidarity with the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, and subsequently undertake other steps, which would help us create an active movement for the transformation of Africa into a nuclear-free continent?

How can we best organize a movement of Arab-African solidarity which would be able to counter Israeli and South African aggression?

How do we go about organizing an Arab-African movement to fight famine and desertification? Faced with this danger, the peoples of our countries are so absorbed by the struggle for their daily bread and water that it hampers, to a serious extent, the development of their political activity.

How do we best organize ourselves under conditions of changing reality?

How do we deal with the evolution of ethnic parameters of African countries due to migration of thousands of refugees, driven from one country to another by hunger, the advancing desert, war and tribal conflicts?

Hunger, drought and desertification have undermined Africa's pro-

ductive forces to a greater degree than the slave traders of the last centuries.

How do we protect Africa's natural resources—minerals, forests, fauna—from transnationals' plunder? How to protect fertile soils from extensive planting of export crops?

How to defend from foreign aggression such gains of the African liberation movement as the triumphant revolutions in Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique?

All of these are vital problems, and it is high time for them to be tackled at meetings held not in Europe. There's no use blaming the internal isolation with which African countries were saddled by colonialism. Early in this century, the pioneers of pan-Africanism complained about isolation, but nevertheless assembled in London and Paris. Now, the situation has changed, and we in the Arab-African region must pay more attention to the subjective factor in order to overcome difficulties, assign priorities and approach their solution.

Only then shall we deserve the right to be in the vanguard of our nations. Only then shall we make a substantial contribution to the protection of universal peace, to the support of perestroika which is being implemented by our Soviet friends.

Whatever allegations there might be that the African liberation tide is on the decline, it is sufficient to look at the revolutionary struggle in Namibia and Southern Africa to become confident of a better future. Whatever may be said about the decline of the liberation movement in the Arab world, it is enough to remember the resistance mounted by the Palestinians on occupied territories on the Western Bank, and the struggle waged by the Lebanese, to regain optimism about the future.

Member of the Leadership of the Socialist Party (Flemings), Belgium

Joseph WYNINCKX

Comrade General Secretary,
Comrades,

I am honoured to be the representative of my party, the Flemish Socialist Party of Belgium, on these great days of celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Socialist October Revolution. We are impressed by the initiatives and the ideas of Comrade General Secretary Gorbachev, and we wish him full success and achievement in the Soviet Union as well as in the international arena.

Seventy years after the October Revolution changed the course of human history, we find ourselves on the eve of events of such considerable importance that they may, if successful, represent the opening of a new era in the international relations among the nations of this planet.

If agreement is reached on the elimination of medium-range missiles between the USA and the USSR, it will mean, indeed, that, for the first time in modern history a complete range of most advanced weapons will effectively disappear from the surface of the earth, as the result of the deliberate efforts of the major world powers to promote reciprocal recognition of common interests in mutual security at a lower level of confrontation. We wish Comrade Gorbachev great success in his meeting on the 7th of December in Washington.

An eight-year-long struggle against the installation of these nuclear missiles in Eastern and Western Europe will then be concluded with a victory of the forces for peace.

This victory will be an all-European victory, a Communist, Socialist and Democratic Socialist victory since we have been able to put this subject on the agenda and to keep it alive over the years.

Obviously we must, nevertheless, remain vigilant. The vicissitudes of international politics are unpredictable and some negative elements have to be kept in mind when evaluating the situation.

Let me quote some of them:

Firstly, the agreement, a first step, will only cover some 3% of the nuclear arsenal, while for the remaining 97% plans are already being made, or are already being carried out to modernize the nuclear weaponry.

Secondly, new, sophisticated, so-called "conventional", weapons are being proposed as replacements for the removed nuclear ones. Their excessive high cost may absorb the reduction of expenditures resulting from the partial disarmament agreement.

Thirdly, we must realise that new military technology and doctrine, are,

by their very nature, more destabilising than the earlier ones and, hence, more dangerous in times of crisis.

Fourthly, the attacks against the ABM Treaty by the U.S. Star Wars program are rendering the future of control over the arms race uncertain and more complicated than ever before.

But let us not be pessimistic, at a moment when an historical initial breakthrough may be achieved with the signing of a disarmament agreement on medium-range missiles.

Let us also list the positive prospects opened up by these developments.

The concept introduced by the Olof Palme commission of common security is gradually making headway in people's minds and in the attitudes adopted in international meetings, discussions and negotiations. The realisation that European security can only be enhanced through "detente" and closer relations among all European countries from East and West is steadily gaining ground.

Let us note with satisfaction that the chances of reaching agreement on a total ban on chemical weapons are at present far better than ever before.

Let us welcome the fact that, after a period of seven years, talks were resumed on the limitation and even the ending of nuclear tests.

But, most of all, let us pay tribute to the developments in the Soviet Union and in particular to the new approach in some aspects of foreign policy that can be largely subscribed to by Socialists and Social-Democrats all over the world.

I am thinking in particular, for instance, of the special emphasis attached to the political aspect of security—which provides a much sounder basis for our security than the merely "national defense" attitude.

I am also referring to the reciprocal character of security, of "common security", whereby we all feel more safe by realising that your security is really our security, and vice versa.

I am, finally, referring to the growing importance attached to Europe as the yard where the new"detente"policyand peace can and shall be built.

So, dear comrades, there are many reasons to hope that, at long last, concrete progress will be achieved in arms control, arms limitations and disarmament.

Therefore the double zero option should not be regarded as a final step, but rather as the starting point towards further progress.

What is needed urgently is the definition of a common objective towards which we can direct and concentrate our efforts both at the bilateral and multilateral levels. When one considers the various suggestions that recently came to the fore, one should conclude that such a common purpose is not an unattainable illusion or utopia.

Can we not agree that our common goal should be that none of us might ever be capable of attacking the other? Is it not our common wish that war could never be started from Europe again?

If this is our common view, then the common purpose is obvious: let us reduce and eliminate all offensive capabilities of the two military alliances; let us transform both NATO and the Warsaw Pact into alliances wherein everybody recognizes that they are fully and exclusively defensive, as the Warsaw Pact mentions.

Such a prospect should provide the framework for the building of mutual confidence and reciprocal security in Europe, leading to a just and lasting peaceful order in this part of the world and, hence, in the whole world.

As the struggle against the medium-range missiles seems to be won, we are now faced with a more difficult, more arduous fight for a new policy of detente.

We will have to take advantage of the progress made to improve our economic, social, and cultural relations within a truly European context, overcoming preconceived ideas, long-vested adverse interests, ideological mistrust and evil-minded suspicion.

Yet this is the only way on the road to disarmament that would finally permit to free the indispensable means required to restore the economy, and thus the social progress, of countries other than just our own, and also the means required to provide the developing Third World the aid, trade and cooperation so desperately needed to overcome the misery, suffering and hunger of three quarters of the world's total population.

Let us at long last, increase our common contribution to this final aim: disarmament for peace and disarmament for development.

This is the view of the Flemish Socialists, but it is the challenge of human survival through human solidarity that we face, 70 years after the Great October Revolution, at this historical juncture!

Dear General Secretary, I want to come to a conclusion, and I modestly suggest new ideas. We must urgently activate the idea of European security and cooperation as one of the ways of progressive and peace-loving forces to have an influence in Eastern as well as in Western European countries.

We must urgently reinforce the dialogue between socialist, communist and progressive forces. We must now pass from the phase of successful relationship on a bilateral basis between the parties concerned to new relations by the renewal of our common ideas and programs. I consider that it would be most important to organise a multilateral conference of European socialist and communist parties, to discuss the important tasks we have to fulfill by the end of the century, to secure peace and socialism for coming generations.

General Secretary of the Romanian Communist Party

Nicolae CEAUŞESCU

Esteemed comrades and friends,

The Communist Party of Romania hails this meeting which gives us the opportunity to exchange opinions on vital problems of the modern world. On behalf of the Communists of Romania, I should like to begin by greeting all participants and the parties they represent, and assuring them our solidarity and friendship.

Our meeting, organized to commemorate the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is taking place at a time when the situation in the world is serious and complicated.

It is well known that the October Revolution took place under difficult conditions, when after the First World War humanity was faced with formidable problems. Russia's proletariat headed by Lenin's Communist Party resolved many of these problems and showed that there existed another way for solving them, that is, by way of workers' and peasants' power and by creating a democracy under which all working people would be masters of their destinies, and be free to build a new life without oppression or exploitation. And they showed colonial peoples that there existed only one way to shake off the imperialist yoke—the way of the struggle for liberation, for the development of each nation in accordance with its aspirations and without outside interference.

Numerous changes have taken place over seven decades, a fact already mentioned at the festive meeting. We now find ourselves in an international situation which presents us with important problems, when the question arises how best to complete the second, and enter the third, millennium. The answers couldn't be more different, for they have to contend with the difficult nature of problems and the diversity of conditions in different regions—Europe, Africa, Asia, the Middle East and Latin America. It is impossible to recommend a uniform cure, a model for solving these problems. Life has shown that the construction of a socialist society is impossible if realities are ignored, if general laws and principles of scientific socialism are disregarded. The concrete situation in each country must be taken into account when applying these principles. This is particularly true for such problems as the transition to socialism and the building of socialism in newly-free nations. There such realities must be given constant attention, and primarily the question of the unity of the working class, the peasantry, the intelligentsia and the entire people. It is impossible to build socialism without the people, and equally impossible to provide for free development and independence without it.

We have entered a phase when new set of contradictions has emerged

between different groups of countries. The contradiction between socialism and capitalism remains as strong, if not stronger, than ever. This is an important factor today, determining the methods adopted to resolve this contradiction. These methods must not be military, but ones of the peaceful competition which has always been advocated by the socialist countries, and primarily the Soviet Union.

We must never forget that imperialists and the more reactionary quarters still adhere to their anti-communist policy, and do not cease their attempts to weaken, in this or that way, socialist countries. Under such conditions, everything must be done to curb this policy, to make it explicitly clear that the only rational way is peaceful coexistence, peaceful competition between socialism and capitalism.

It is natural for Communists to have the conviction (I am, of course, speaking about our party, although I believe that all Communists in all countries that have built socialism in any form have the same conviction) that in order to develop freely, there is no alternative to socialism for humanity; that in accordance with the very laws of social development, it is socialism that is capable of showing the world the way, offering new vistas for development and prosperity. This, of course, brings up numerous problems which need to be discussed. Critical remarks on how some socialist countries solved certain problems have been made at this forum, too. But we belong to those who have always argued that socialist construction is carried out not in a showcase, but under difficult conditions, that society must be transformed. The Communist Party of Romania has turned the once backward country into an industrially developed state with a thriving agriculture. The CPSU similarly turned backward Russia into an industrial superpower on the basis of the latest achievements of science and engineering. The same is true of other socialist countries.

Drawbacks still exist, but the achievements of socialism are so great that every day and every hour they prove the strength of the working class, of nations who are masters of their own destinies and who are freely building a new social system. Many of you or your party comrades have visited Romania. You know our strong sides and our problems. I can only say that everything that we have attained in Romania has been done by the people and for the people. Everything that we have accomplished has been directed at the constant improvement of living and working conditions, the development of culture and civilization of the entire nation. We have solved many problems. A great number wait to be solved. If we chose to compare Romania to countries which were at the same development level 40 years ago, we shall see that we have made astonishing progress, having passed through several stages of history. We have widely developed democratic forms acting from the assumption that democracy, socialism and humanism are inseparable. I emphasize this because it is wrong to claim

that the achievements of socialist countries offer no perspective. On the contrary, these achievements are the pride of all working people, of oppressed nations, and as such open vistas for progress, wellbeing, independence of nations, vistas for a world without wars, a world of cooperation and friendship among all nations.

Imperialists continue their flagrant interference in the internal affairs of other countries. Neocolonialism in its various forms persists and keeps dozens of nations in backwardness. It uses a number of ways, including supranational monopolies and international financial capital, to oppress and plunder scores of nations who are still underdeveloped and hence encounter serious difficulties.

It is impossible to ignore that the developed capitalist countries themselves are plagued by serious problems. The market economies are gripped by a crisis, which also plagues social spheres and politics, unemployment is growing and the shortage of jobs and housing is felt more and more acutely. Millions upon millions of young people lack the opportunities to work, get an education, and so on. In many countries of the West, neonazism, racism and anti-Semitism are rampant.

The search for answers to the questions posed by our epoch should encompass everything that troubles all regions, all nations of the world. It is necessary to emphasize one fact, however, and that is that at our meeting there is a common denominator—consensus on the need for unity in the struggle to remove the threat of war, to eliminate nuclear arms, and, first of all, to secure, this December, the signing of the agreement between the United States and the Soviet Union on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles at the Washington summit. This will doubtless be an historic success, although the agreement will be only the first step on the long road towards the liquidation of all nuclear weapons, which alone can guarantee humanity's right to peace and life.

I have no wish to offend comrades from other continents, but in this respect I must emphasize the responsibility of communist and socialist parties and other political forces, as well as of the peoples of Europe, in the face of a particularly delicate situation in this region, where the greatest stockpiles of nuclear weapons are concentrated. We are to do our utmost to eliminate medium- and shorter-range nuclear weapons; yet, there remain other types of weapons, as well as European countries which manufacture nuclear weapons and insist that they will continue to do so in the future. We must not forget the dire consequences of the tragic accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station, when there was not a single European nation that did not experience, if only slightly, the effects of radiation. What then is to become of Europe after nuclear explosions? The existence of nuclear weapons in one European country or another is not the internal affair of the country in question. It is a matter which touches upon the in-

terests of Europe as a whole. Nuclear weapons must be removed from Europe altogether.

I support the proposal of the preceding speaker for communist and socialist parties and other political forces of Europe to get together and examine Europe's problems, such as the complete elimination of all types of nuclear weapons and of chemical weapons on the continent, and radical reduction of conventional arms under appropriate international supervision, since only this will enable Europe and the rest of the world to proceed into the future with confidence.

It is imperative for all the participants in this meeting, all realistically-minded politicians regardless of their philosophical and religious convictions to base their actions on the new situation, when the existence of nuclear weapons threatens the very life on our planet.

We must eliminate the nuclear threat, yet we must not ignore chemical weapons and other weapons of mass destruction, whose elimination will make it possible to attain parity at the lowest possible level.

Speaking of new political thinking in the context of the existence of nuclear weapons, it is necessary to promote a more comprehensive approach in the sense that new thinking, which first and foremost presupposes the elimination of nuclear weapons, also involves a complete denunciation of the use of military methods for the solution of international problems and the settlement of disputes and conflicts only by way of negotiations; all the forces of peace must act accordingly. The new way of thinking presupposes obligatory dissolution of military blocs, which are incompatible with new realities, withdrawal of foreign troops from the territories of other countries, dismantling of foreign military bases, and provides for respect for independence, sovereignty and equality, denunciation of interference in the internal affairs of other countries and of the use or the threat of force.

In fact, it is really necessary firmly to act in such a way that the situation in one region or another would not result in new conflicts, that US and other foreign navy vessels be removed from the Persian Gulf and free shipping for peaceful purposes be guaranteed. It is particularly important to reject actions which threaten safe shipping in the Persian Gulf and other international waters. All these are problems which are the subject of our concern, since a conflict in any region ultimately affects all of us.

It is high time to think about the problem of underdevelopment. We must advocate solutions to backwardness not exclusively by aid from the outside, since everyone here is aware that social aid is incapable of solving all problems even in developed capitalist countries. New policies, new relations and support for independent socio-economic development are required. Aid must be part of this support. The peoples of the developing world should have access to the achievements of science and technology;

they require aid in order to use their resources within the framework of a new division of labour on the basis of equality, under which the peoples would be the masters of their national wealth. The situation under which this wealth is exploited by a group of countries should be done away with. This problem does in fact require new joint action, a new approach and new thinking.

Proceeding from the principle of peaceful coexistence, we must urge all nations to give up old thinking and unequal relations. Only then shall we open new prospects for the coming century, for the third millennium. Socialist countries are in the vanguard in this. All of them, and primarily the Soviet Union, have demonstrated by their actions what it is possible to do following this way. However, all communist and workers' parties, developing countries, socialists, social-democrats, national liberation movements, democratic parties and realistically-minded religious figures must unite and act as a single front in order to provide humanity with new prospects for development.

We must remember the lessons of history, the threat which continues to loom over our achievements in various fields. We must remember that a safe future is possible only if we change the modern world in a radical manner. It was correctly said, comrades, that imperialism is not about to change of itself; it is up to us to make it give up old policies, to follow the way of peaceful competition, competition between socialism and capitalism.

Nobody should harbour illusions that two-thirds of mankind will continue to tolerate oppression and inequality for long. Along with the nuclear bomb, there exists a powerful social and nationalist "bomb" of the oppressed people, who must unite and bring about change in the present situation. We are for the convening of an international conference on this matter; developed capitalist countries must understand that they cannot infinitely continue to refuse discussing things with developing countries, that they must sit down together to talk and find a solution to the problem of a more just and better world. This world would make it possible for underdeveloped and developing nations to attain a standard of living which would provide them with everything necessary for a decent and free life. It is my belief that we must give a clear, unambiguous answer to such questions.

Romania, the Communist Party of Romania, have always supported developing countries. We have always supported national liberation struggle, the consolidation of independence and sovereignty of all nations, for we believe that only in this way can the peoples attain the kind of happy life they deserve.

There is little doubt, comrades, that radical changes have occurred in the relations between parties within the communist and working-class

movements. Our forum here is an illustration to great changes which have above all affected the thoughts and deeds of communist and workers' parties. It reflects a new level of their ideological and political awareness, which corresponds to new realities. Numerous difficulties are behind us, but we—that is, communist and workers' parties—must realize that a new way of thinking is called for, that there is no going back to the 1960 Conference and other conferences of the past. What we must understand is that the actions taken by these parties have resulted in new relations of equality, respect for independence and the right of every party to formulate its own strategy in accordance with the real situation. We are satisfied that all parties have become aware of this, just as we express our satisfaction of and support for the new CPSU orientation and thinking in these matters, too. Without new relations of complete equality and independence, our parties will fail to attain the extent of unity which is required by modern conditions. There is no going back either to old theses or the slogans which reflected the conditions of past periods. The concept of the "dictatorship of the proletariat" has ceased to correspond to reality, and I hereby inform you and all those who did not know about it that several years ago, a plenary meeting of our Central Committee adopted an ideological programme from which we excluded the concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was deemed inappropriate from many points of view. We must not for a moment identify the dictatorship of the proletariat with the power of workers and peasants, the power of the people; those are things which should not be mixed up. The way towards socialism really does pass, as it should, through democratic social reform; however, such reform should have the backing of the majority of the people. Otherwise, the victory of socialism would be impossible. Communists have always denounced export of revolution, but we have also been resolutely against export of counter-revolution. We stand for the right of every nation to choose the way of development which appeals to it most, without any external interference; at the same time, we uphold class solidarity, solidarity with progressive forces, with all those who are for socialism and a better and more just world.

That is why we support development of cooperation among communist and workers' parties, their renewed unity, the convocation of meetings and conferences, including international conferences. We also advocate wider ties between Communists and Socialists and Social-Democrats both on the domestic and the international scene. We are for a wide-scale cooperation, for, in a manner of speaking, rapprochement, between Communists and Socialists for the sake of establishing a broad front of progress and peace.

We are convinced that the exchange of opinions at this forum will promote our cooperation and solidarity in the struggle for the solution of

acute and pressing problems facing mankind, for a better and more just world. Regardless of whatever differences we might have, let us do all we can to act in total unity in our defence of every human being's, every nation's sacred right to freedom and independence, to life and peace, to free and normal existence.

In conclusion, I express gratitude to Soviet leaders and the CPSU Central Committee for this excellently organized meeting, and for everything done to ensure its success.

Member of the Leadership of the Italian Communist Party

Giorgio NAPOLITANO

With great interest we have listened to the reports made on the first day, and particularly to Comrade Gorbachev. We believe that at this forum we should outline the spheres of contact and cooperation open to progressive forces who act under very different conditions, possess different historical experience and follow different ideological paths.

This meeting, as Comrade Gorbachev correctly pointed out, is an "unusual" one, for the simple reason that it includes not only Communist and Workers' parties or similar progressive forces. Also represented here are Socialist, Social-Democratic, Labour and other parties and movements with which we have open discussions. There is no dividing line between Communists and non-Communists in this assembly; there is a desire to open a frank and equitable dialogue. This trail we will have to blaze outside the framework of yesterday's and today's meetings. At any rate, it appears senseless to evoke the old arguments about the bonds that should link Communist Parties as such. What is important is the presence here of numerous non-communist friends.

It is quite possible that among the initiators of further ideas which concern either Europe or relations between two Europes, we shall see representatives of Socialist Parties. Furthermore, there is nothing surprising in that even Communists sometimes speak different languages.

The situation in which we act is truly marked by difference. Our common goals include disarmament, international cooperation, peace, protection of human civilization from endless dangers. Here, all Left forces are called upon to uphold democratic development and social progress. In fact, the greater part of these forces does act in this direction, drawing inspiration from socialist ideals, although not everyone interprets socialism in the same way.

Even as we cooperate to attain our great common goals, each party or movement should act with total self-dependence in order to influence the social and political reality with which they are dealing. European parties of the Left have first of all to take into account the process of growing integration of economic spheres and states in Western Europe. The trend for greater interdependence is in plain evidence on a world scale, but specific forms of integration manifest themselves at regional level. This is doubtless true for the majority of Western European countries which make up the European Economic Community; it is planned to create a totally integrated market by 1992; there is also talk of the need for and possibility of greater political integration, too. The forces of the Left have to act in such a way as to keep these processes from contributing to the aggravation of differences

among EEC members, from threatening the social gains attained by the working people and popular masses or those yet to be attained, and from affirming the "wild" brand of capitalism, which also worries Socialist Parties. The forces of the Left have to take the proper steps to make the development of economic and political integration in Western Europe an organic supplement, rather than an obstacle, to the common desire to proceed with disarmament, cooperation between East and West and elimination of the tragic gap between North and South on a global scale.

Today, the cause of disarmament requires the greatest possible efforts to make the double zero option a landmark of positive development in relations between the Soviet Union, the United States and other interested countries. Right-wing forces in Europe are presently waging a loud campaign about the allegedly negative, from the point of view of European security, consequences of the double zero option. On this premise, they call for accelerated NATO rearmament in the conventional sphere, and oppose further steps towards nuclear disarmament in Europe. This campaign must encounter our energetic resistance. To this end, it appears imperative to renew negotiations in order to attain parity on the lowest possible plane in conventional weapons. An agreement in this sphere would provide the public with safeguards against any violations of peace in Europe. This issue involves, above all, Europe, and for this reason, negotiations must include all of the 35 signatories of the Helsinki Act and the Stockholm Agreement of September 1986.

The Left and progressive forces, however, have more than disarmament and constructive development of East-West relations to struggle for: there are also radical changes to be made in order to reverse the trend towards greater inequality between the North and the South. For this purpose, statements, however principled, are not enough. What is needed are concrete proposals, bold changes in the policies of separate countries and the entire European community. Within the workers' movement in Europe, we must fight against all forms of narrow-mindedness and nationalist egoism in the face of the task to supply resources, and guarantee justice and development, to the poorest countries and all of the Third World.

Dear comrades, we feel a profound connection with the traditions of liberty and the democratic institutions in our Western European countries. These traditions and institutions, which are mainly due to the historic achievements of the workers' movement, must today be given new guarantees in the face of new complex problems, under the new critical conditions imposed by the revolution in science and technology and economic internationalization. This requires serious theoretical analysis and creative approaches to culture and politics on the part of all Left-wing forces in Europe and elsewhere. In this respect, we attach great significance to the discussion and implementation of reform-oriented actions, which have

begun in the Soviet Union. We act, I repeat, in different situations, and proceed from different concepts. But the way the Soviet Union now approaches problems of democracy and human rights as well as economic reform, makes productive dialogue possible. The farther we proceed along this path, the greater the prospects for rapprochement and cooperation between all progressive forces, for disarmament, detente and international cooperation.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan

NAJIBULLAH

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

Dear comrades-in-arms in the revolutionary and democratic anti-imperialist struggle,

Our gathering is called simply and aptly a meeting. Well, what does life mean? Life is nothing but a range of meetings with people. This meeting of political leaders of the 20th century enriches us from a moral point of view and we will manifest more resoluteness and wisdom in our humanitarian and history-making activities. This meeting takes place in the conditions of a march towards peace. This meeting takes place in the passage of history. New peaks will be gained from this meeting that will undoubtedly elevate human civilization and we will say noble words of thanks to its organizers.

This open, free, democratic and internationalist meeting is a high demonstration of goodwill and revolutionary solidarity of our will and deeds for future human destiny and environment, for peace, socialism, development and progress. This can be defined as a high approach and serious restructuring in relations between parties, political organizations and movements. Restructuring is not a one-way avenue. We are bound to perceive our mutual responsibility based on self-restructuring. We should not consider that, since the USSR has vast patience and tolerance, we should put all historical responsibility of the time on the Soviet Union alone.

Based on the experience of the Great October Socialist Revolution and socialism proving that no revolution can implement its constructive power under conditions of fratricide and bloodshed, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan too in its turn has reconstructed itself and led the country towards national reconciliation.

We consider national reconciliation as a Leninist peaceful policy, as a creative application of Leninist thought on compromise, methodology of analyzing social classes and the balance of forces in a society. We observe the bold and creative approach for solution of revolutionary and democratic tasks in the philosopy of new political thinking reflected in the 27th Congress of the CPSU.

The mechanism of national reconciliation, reconciliation which is responsive to the gains and interest of our people, i.e. cessation of bloodshed, solution of the issues around Afghanistan and removal of social and economic backwardness, is taking shape in our country.

National reconciliation has become an objective fact which all political forces, whether they want to or not, should consider.

Work has not been carried out as we expected and planned. I should explicitly state that we had pinned much hope on the ceasefire. But the ceasefire remained unilateral. We observed a ceasefire for 52 days, that is, till the enemies stepped up their hostilities and intensified their attacks on residential areas and transport routes. And only then it was

decided—strictly in accordance with the Declaration of National Reconciliation—to undertake retaliatory strikes against bands that have rejected the policy of national reconciliation, against their weapons-carrying caravans and military bases.

As a creator of the ideas and experience of the policy of reconciliation, the party analyzes the changing conditions and draws practical lessons from it. The party strives to settle the new tasks. We have accelerated the work of national reconciliation among the working masses and established open negotiations with the opposition through peace jirgahs. Seeking ways for solution together with concessions, we had talks with second and third rank commanders of the opposite side and created peace regions and provinces. For the expansion of social pillars of national reconciliation, serious corrections are being made in organising political power. These corrections are implemented and will be implemented on the basis of the principles of a multi-party system and coalition.

The left bloc of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan together with the other revolutionary democratic organisations will be the leading force in a multi-party union which is being created within the framework of the National Front. A multi-party system provided the prerequisites for using coalition forms to guide society. These forms are coming into being right now on the initiative of the working masses and grow from bottom to top, from villages to districts and finally at the provincial level.

In order to discredit the policy of national reconciliation, the opposition is seeking to fabricate concoctions and disseminate them among the people. They claim that the PDPA endeavours to monopolize political power. I emphasize that the PDPA is attempting to divide power and further include in the composition of the leading body representatives of all patriotic forces who support the ideals of the policy of national reconciliation. Currently 15% of the employees of local organs of state power and administration are former opponents. Six senators and ministers of past governments are functioning in the posts of ministers. Recently, representatives of the left democratic organization, the Toilers' Revolutionary Organization of Afghanistan, which cooperates with the PDPA, have received the posts of the president of the State Planning Committee and two other important ministers.

The party does not forget the issues of military construction. Maintenance of the armed forces means the normalization of the internal political situation, implementation of the policy of national reconciliation and consolidation of state sovereignty. In the course of national reconciliation, new civil detachments defending peace regions have been set up and the peace-making tasks of the armed forces have been expanded.

In the complex approach to reconciliation, a special role is assigned to the socio-economic factors and inter-relation of all economic structures. Special attention is paid to private entrepreneurs, artisan production and strengthening of the market system. In the conditions of reconciliation, the land and water reforms have acquired a new content.

We are accustomed to seeing the economy mostly from the point of

view of the state sector, and with difficulty get rid of the narrow-minded approach towards small-scale commodity production and private investment. There exist still numerous unsolved problems.

Restructuring in political training work proposes the expansion of personal contacts with the masses, personal talks. Now we value the groups of 25 and 50 persons more than the meetings attended by thousands of people. It is clear that in the conditions of the coalition government we shall lose the monopoly of the press but we must retain the monopoly of oral political propaganda. Experience teaches that propaganda is the shortest way for mobilisation of the people.

Innovation and the difficulties of the tasks have evoked a dilemma for some party members. They have begun talking of losing the revolutionary stand and of right deviation. The national conference of the party which was held 15 days ago dealt a shattering blow to factionalism, groupism and other negative phenomena of inner-party life. According to the proposals made by the delegates, the party members now sign at the bottom of a resolution on the unity of party ranks. The political evaluation of leading officials is being carried out fruitfully.

The peaceful normalization of the situation in Afghanistan is only possible through the joint efforts of political forces inside the country and in the international arena. On behalf of the Afghan people, I express my wholehearted gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people, to Comrade Gorbachev and to the fraternal parties for the all-round support they have given us. Forty eight messages of greetings from fraternal parties were received addressed to the conference. Thank you, dear comrades, for your deep attention. In connection with the preparations for calling the Second Congress of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution next April, we call upon you to organize serious political measures for internationalist solidarity with Afghanistan.

I think that this informal meeting has given the highest possibility for young parties, such as ours, to tell friends and comrades about ourselves and hear what others have to say about us.

In connection with the characteristics of the April Revolution and the capability of the PDPA to manage the process of revolutionary transformations and the defence of the homeland against armed aggression we can debate, but cannot deny the fact that the PDPA and the April Revolution are special national phenomena. Regardless of what our enemies say, this makes us proud.

It is difficult to understand that even some parties and countries have a particular stand towards our revolution. Replying to some questions put at yesterday's sitting, I want to state that proposing the return of the limited Soviet military contingent from Afghanistan and at the same time ignoring, at least not denouncing, the undeclared war, imperialist armed aggression and interference in our country, is not realistic. We should not allow democracy to be separated from dialectics and action from realism; otherwise, we slip into pragmatism which is an inseparable part of the old way of thinking. We must have the courage to abandon old habits and ap-

proaches. This is restructuring in action. On the contrary, we expect that our friends will boldly support the policy of reconciliation. This policy of ours displays itself as a firm chain of new political thinking for the settlement of crucial issues through dialogue, negotiations, compromise and understanding, instead of by force and arms and violence, as well as a factor for reduction of tension in the region and promoter of the high cause of peace. In this way this great idea found a deep and responsible understanding.

We invite you to visit our country and see for yourselves what things have been accomplished there in the post-revolutionary years, get to know the current of implementation of national reconciliation and sum it up logically. These evaluations will be certainly to the benefit of new Afghanistan.

National reconciliation has now crossed the borders of our country and has changed into a political reality in the international arena. We propose that at the beginning of 1988 the heads of the countries that have undertaken the path of national reconciliation should meet in Kabul.

The party and its new policy have friends; however, their enemies are not fewer. I think it is necessary to fruitfully organize criticism of the enemies of peace, upholders of conflicts and low-intensity wars. The internationalist assistance of the Soviet Union to Afghanistan is under their severe attack. The process of the return to the Soviet Union of the limited Soviet military contingent has practically begun. The Soviet contingents are not there in 12 out of 30 provinces. We see our internationalistic obligation in preparing for the return to their homeland of the heroic defenders—soldiers of the Soviet Union—as soon as possible.

During the 10 months of national reconciliation we have secured more victories in some directions as compared to the past eight years. 2,300 villages have been peacefully freed, 30,000 armed men have laid down arms and started a civilian life. More than 100,000 refugees have managed to break through from Pakistani and Iranian camps without waiting for political settlement through Geneva talks.

The national conference of the party determined as a main objective the acceleration of the process of national reconciliation and creation of its invincible basic guarantees. All party members have been called upon to fulfil these tasks. Now action, and again action is needed.

General Secretary of the Social-Democratic Party of Denmark

Steen CHRISTENSEN

First, let me thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev for the invitation to participate in this significant meeting which represents a culminating point in the dialogue between our parties.

Fortunately, the dialogue between East and West, between Communist and Social-Democratic parties began long ago. We started exchanging views long before this meeting. On behalf of the Danish Social-Democrats I would like to assure you of our readiness to continue and extend this dialogue; we are very interested in that.

We regard this meeting as a significant contribution to the process of continuing the dialogue between us.

I would also like to say I support the basic suggestions made in the speeches by my colleagues in the Social-Democratic movement in the North of Europe—Kalevi Sorsa and Thorbjørn Jagland, so I will not repeat their arguments in detail. Still, I consider it necessary to briefly emphasize some points.

We consider it extremely important to work for the consolidation of peace, detente, and disarmament no matter what the context—Nicaragua, Afghanistan, or, naturally and most importantly, East-West relations. Here everything depends on whether we will be able to traverse the most important path for us—the path from rhetoric to reality; whether our actions will result in the process of peace consolidation broadening and growing.

As an example of such an approach let me remind you that all North European countries have in recent years adopted decisions to introduce comprehensive trade and economic sanctions against the ugly apartheid regime in South Africa. We are increasing the economic aid being extended to the ANC and SWAPO liberation movements, and also to the group of frontline states. We hope that other countries, especially those in Western Europe, will follow the example set by North Europeans.

Danish Social-Democrats are very pleased about the prospects of an agreement on intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles being concluded. At the same time it must be stressed that the INF agreement must not lead to an increased arms race in other fields. In this connection, the Soviet Union bears a big responsibility. Everyone knows that loud voices are being heard in the context of a broad political discussion that are calling for a build-up in conventional armaments in the wake of the INF agreement. We Social-Democrats are resolutely against such ideas, believing there are no grounds for such steps. An arms race in conventional weapons can be prevented only in the following way: the Soviet Union has

to prove with practical steps that it is acting in accordance with its own declarations about the problem of an imbalance in conventional arms. In other words, if the Soviet Union displays sufficient flexibility, we will succeed through joint efforts in preventing an escalation of the race in conventional arms. Moreover, we will also be able to make a big contribution to the cause of disarmament in that field.

Danish Social-Democrats consider it quite important to preserve the status of Northern Europe as a region of low tension. This is exactly why the parliamentary commission of North European nations is continuing its work: it will lead to the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe which will be consolidated by an appropriate agreement. We were very interested to learn that the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, while staying in Murmansk, gave his concrete support to the idea. We regard the speech he made in Murmansk as proof of a desire to keep the North from turning into a region of high tension. We are very interested in joining the exchange of opinions about ways of lessening that tension and of preventing a further build-up of naval forces in the Northern seas.

Let me conclude by saying that we are most active supporters of new thinking in any form. We have to abandon the stereotypes that have for too long had a restraining effect in politics.

This is why we congratulate the Soviet Union on the perestroika going on here.

General Secretary of the Swiss Party of Labour

Jean SPIELMAN

First of all, I want to express my gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for organizing this meeting and for the opportunity granted every participant to speak out freely. The form and content of this meeting is an important and significant manifestation of the new winds of change in the country of the October Revolution.

Dear friends, dear Comrades,

The contradictions in the contemporary world pose a threat to our very existence. Weapons of mass destruction could annihilate all life on the planet, and pose, therefore, a most dangerous threat to the whole of humanity. Environmental pollution and the depletion of natural resources make a new type of economic development, based on a prudent treatment of the environment by man, urgently necessary.

Progressive forces' main task is to ensure a new, peaceful economic policy. The aim is to reverse present trends through a verifiable and balanced reduction of nuclear and conventional weapons. Proceeding from this possibility, the peoples' struggle for peace, as well as the initiatives and proposals put forward by socialist, neutral, and non-aligned countries can gradually ensure a balance of forces, mutual security, disarmament, elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction, the disbandment of military alliances, and, finally, the establishment of peaceful coexistence.

Today the correlation of forces in the world has changed, which has significantly narrowed the opportunities available for instigators of war. Nuclear arsenals have grown so big that they represent an equal threat for all. At present no one can hope to benefit from military superiority.

But the struggle for peace must be continued even after nuclear weapons have been eliminated. It calls for a major re-orientation of economic, political, social and cultural activities in those societies whose development is based on the drive for strategic superiority. Investments in new technology and scientific research are meant, primarily, to increase the military potential. I mean, in particular, the SDI and Eureka projects. As a result, many approaches to contemporary problems have originated in this orientation. This is evident in nuclear power engineering. It is high time to set up a coalition of reason to ensure the survival of mankind. For this, we should discard all the myths about prosperity being based on the production of weapons, as well as the allegations that military orders create jobs—for in reality the militarisation of a society has a most deteriorating effect on its economic development, on government policy, on people's living conditions and their culture.

It was towards this prospect that the new policy outlined at the last

congress of the Swiss Party of Labour was aimed. We mean here the fundamental political orientation based on a peaceful economy, the policy facilitating efforts to reverse current trends and introduce a new way of thinking.

The scarcity of natural resources on our planet became extremely clear during the 'oil crisis'. Rapid urbanization, technological development, the accumulation of industrial wastes, unresolved problems of nuclear power engineering, the sharply increased use of trucks for haulage, harmful effluents and environmental pollution—these are some of the problems we all have to face.

The destruction of forests, the contamination of rivers, the ecological catastrophies of Bhopal, Seveso, Chernobyl and "Sandoz" wrought a lot of damage in various regions and posed in a very severe way the problem of economic development, its character and goals, as well as the problem of changing the nature of man's relationship with and treatment of the environment. We are witnessing an ecological crisis, which is closely linked with the economic crisis.

In this situation it is imperative to advance a new economic policy based on harmony between man and the environment. It should be guided not by the desire to reap profits, or to achieve numerical growth, but by the necessity to link all human activities with the solution of the vitally important task of protecting the air, water and soil, and also with the task of satisfying people's needs.

Harmony between the economy and environment is a second major goal of our economic policy.

Peace can be achieved only if the principle of peaceful coexistence, which allows every nation to choose its own social system without any outside interference or pressure, is upheld. To ensure economic, social and political development that leads to improved relations between nations makes up the third part of our peaceful economic policy. Under such conditions competition between states will be based not on violence or a desire to achieve superiority, but rather on the force of example. Such a world would also need new fair economic relations between the industrially developed and developing countries. This is vitally important for the future of these countries and for the entire world because peace on the planet depends on the successful solution of these problems. Thus, peaceful coexistence, development, and independence are closely interrelated.

It is necessary to radically change economic relations between the industrially developed and Third World countries by building a peaceful economic order under which these countries would be free to choose their own ways of development and could develop in accordance with their economic potential and the level of their productive forces. Peaceful eco-

nomic relations with the developing countries constitute the fourth part of our policy of peace.

The growing power and influence of the leading financial and economic groups and the growing nationalism in West European nations have diminished the role of these countries on the international scene. Only genuinely democratic and socialist restructuring, carried out jointly with all the progressive forces in Europe, could stop, and even reverse the process of 'neo-liberalism' that has led to the current decay.

In light of this it is necessary for the left forces in Western Europe to continue discussing and exploring these problems in order to work out a more accurate programme and strategy for the progressive forces for the current period and the future.

Having chosen democracy and the participation of the masses in government, each of us undertook a voluntary, highly responsible commitment. This programme can not be implemented only through a victory of the left forces in the elections, or through conferring authority to its chosen representatives. After all, social progress always depends on the conscious participation of every individual, on the common understanding of the necessity to struggle for genuine transformations. We should not, therefore, be just passive observers of changes, achieved thanks to representative democracy, but rather must become determined fighters for social reforms, fighters for social progress and socialism.

The present crisis should not, even schematically, be referred to as an economic one. The very fundamentals of our society, its goals, culture and morality are at stake here.

Today the correlation of forces between classes in our society is largely determined by the struggle for these values, based on these vital goals.

We will continue and reinforce our struggle in the social sphere. But this is not enough to meet the requirements of our rapidly changing society. For this it is necessary to start a process which would evolve a democratic alternative to the policy of the right forces.

We intend to facilitate the development of these processes on the basis of solidarity, the goal being to reaffirm the values of political democracy, freedom, justice, solidarity, peace—the values of socialism.

President of South-West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO), Namibia

Sam NUJOMA

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,
Comrades and friends,

Right from the outset I would like to state the fact that the historic importance of the evolutionary developments of the contemporary history of mankind in the last 70 years is linked with the victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, where the forces of feudalism, capitalism, and exploitation of man by man have been wiped out. This was followed by the establishment of the first socialist state in the world.

As we observed, the developments and tasks which were carried out by the October revolution were to eliminate poverty, ignorance and guarantee equality, provide free, adequate medical care, free education for all and proper housing for all citizens of the Soviet Union.

It is a matter of historical fact that it was the land of the great Lenin whose people made enormous sacrifices and a tangible contribution to the defeat of Nazi-Hitler which threatened to enslave mankind during the Second World War. The October Socialist Revolution in the Soviet Union also rendered political, diplomatic and concrete material assistance to the colonized and oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America to liberate themselves from the yoke of colonialism, imperialism and all forms of foreign domination and exploitation.

The USSR today gives economic aid to peoples and countries who have just liberated themselves to develop and strengthen their economies which enables them to defend their national independence and sovereignty as well as to maintain peace, security, stability and promote friendship and cooperation among peoples and nations of the world.

Despite the fact that colonialism, oppression, exploitation and robbery of other peoples' natural resources by imperialist gunboat-diplomacy and acts of aggression seem to have been eradicated in many parts of the world, it is important to point out that in occupied Namibia and apartheid South Africa the majority of the people are still living in the chains of enslavement, colonialism and are being ruthlessly exploited by the joint forces of the minority white racists of the Pretoria regime and the transnational corporations from imperialist countries.

Today, hundreds of Namibian people are being massacred, tortured, imprisoned and detained without trial, thousands of families are being uprooted and forcibly driven into the bantustans which are similar to Nazi-Hitler concentration camps where children are dying from hunger, suffering from malnutrition, lack of medical care and proper shelters.

We in the National Liberation Movement note with satisfaction and appreciation the peace initiatives and efforts of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, aimed at the elimination of medium- and shorter-

range nuclear missiles, with the purpose of strengthening world peace and security and eventually eliminating the threat of a nuclear holocaust.

In Southern Africa today the minority white racist regime of South Africa occupies and oppresses the Namibian people, denies them the right to rule themselves in the land of their birth, and also uses Namibia as a springboard for military attacks and aggression against the frontline states, in particular the Peoples' Republic of Angola. Furthermore, the racist Pretoria regime is using Namibian territory as a base for training, arming and transporting the Unita bandits into the Peoples' Republic of Angola to kill innocent civilians and destroy the economic infrastructure of that country.

The Pretoria racist regime is able to carry out these acts of aggression because of the economic, financial, military, political and diplomatic support it receives from the imperialist countries, as we have witnessed in the UN Security Council in April, 1987, where the permanent representatives of the Reagan Administration and the Thatcher government vetoed a draft resolution which intended to impose economic sanctions against the apartheid regime. West Germany also voted against that draft resolution.

The political and military situation which exists in the region of Southern Africa today constitutes a serious threat to world peace and security. In this connection we have always considered the struggle for national independence to be inseparably linked to the struggle for the maintenance of world peace and security.

We, therefore, call upon all peoples and nations upholding justice and peace to take joint actions and render increased material, political and diplomatic support to the struggling people of Namibia and South Africa, led by SWAPO of Namibia and ANC-SA, so as to intensify the armed liberation struggle and achieve freedom and independence for Namibia and South Africa, and to give economic aid to the frontline states, to enable them to strengthen their economies and defend their sovereignty and territorial integrity from the racist South Africa regime's acts of aggression.

We believe that there can be no lasting peace and stability in the world so long as there are nations still occupied and dominated by foreign powers, which denies them their inalienable rights to self-determination and genuine national independence.

We wish the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and General Secretary Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev success in the efforts to strengthen and restructure the economic development of the USSR.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Member of the Executive Bureau of the Central Committee of the Panhellenic Socialist Movement

Georgios PAPANDREOU

As friends of peace, as Socialists, as friends of the Soviet people and as Europeans, my colleagues in the Greek socialist movement and myself are following with great interest the changes under way in the Soviet Union, as well as the positive developments in the field of disarmament.

The proposals and various initiatives the Soviet Union has put forward over the past two years, among them a moratorium on nuclear tests, have played a decisive role in breaking the vicious circle of the arms race, and in drastically improving the international climate. They have thus created a most significant prerequisite for the relaxation of tensions and international cooperation.

Along with that, for the first time since the word "sputnik", two more Russian words, "perestroika" and "glasnost", have been introduced into the vocabulary of the world public. This did not happen by chance. This fact indicates the great interest in the processes taking place in the USSR throughout the world and the growing response to those processes. We believe that the image of the Soviet Union, which has embarked on the path of sweeping reforms under the slogans of restructuring, glasnost and democratization, has been as important for the cause of peace as the concrete proposals placed on the negotiating table.

We are glad that the current changes have proved what we always believed in: just as democracy is incomplete if it does not guarantee public control over the process of capital accumulation, so socialism cannot deny democracy—on the contrary, democracy is most strongly manifested under socialism.

The challenge of our times is to broaden the notion of democracy. Enormous technological progress has resulted in the appearance of several groups of authority: economic, military, and also groups of public-opinion makers in the mass media. All these developments have put the existing political schemes in question. The future of socialism and democracy depends on the extent to which every citizen and every nation as a whole will succeed in controlling the new forms of government through socializing economic authority, mastering technological authority, democratizing political authority and eliminating the military authority.

The agreement to scrap intermediate-range nuclear missiles is a first and very significant step in that direction. But this is only a first step, the significance of which will depend on whether it will lead to further arms reductions, and whether other steps aimed at strengthening security and linking disarmament with development will follow.

It is high time to start radical reductions of the main nuclear stockpiles with a view to totally eliminating them later on. Along with that we must prevent the escalation of the arms race, the development of new generations of weapons of mass destruction and their deployment in outer space.

To build up security worldwide and to strengthen peace, we have to move from bilateral efforts to the establishment of a multilateral, collective security system. The new set of measures should ensure peace and mankind's survival without turning into a means of establishing domination of a few nations over all the rest.

This is why we regard the proposals put forward by General Secretary Gorbachev in both his recent interview with the newspaper *Pravda* and in his recent message to the leaders of the Delhi Six as very important and hopeful. We not only share these views, but consider as unacceptable and immoral statements that the production, possession and possible use of nuclear weapons is the sole prerogative of members of the Nuclear Club, who are free to do what they wish, covering up their intentions with talk about "national security" considerations. The majority of our planet's inhabitants can not be excluded from decision-making of this kind.

However, the arms race is often no more than a special and, naturally, very dangerous form of diverse antagonisms of a more general character, antagonisms which are omnipresent in international relations. If in the end we fail to weaken these antagonisms, any progress in the field of disarmament, no matter how significant such progress might seem, will bring no results. We come from a European country which took part in both world wars, suffered enormous casualties in the struggle against fascism, and survived foreign invasions and a civil war. So we cannot forget the devastating consequences of the world's division into antagonistic, opposing camps. We, Europeans, all sense that division.

Now, 42 years since the end of the Second World War, the time has come for a stage-by-stage elimination of that terrible heritage. We now have to move forward in three directions: to restore the climate of détente, trust and cooperation; to undertake bold steps in the field of disarmament, both nuclear and conventional; to build economic and technological cooperation of a new type.

Such measures would be in the interests of both Eastern and Western Europe, and the world as a whole. They would bring us closer to our common dream of building a united Europe, the dream that was put aside for some time by concrete historical developments. We, as a member-nation of the European communities, know from our own experience that the integration of nations, although it could start on half of our continent, cannot be successfully completed within these limits.

Therefore, we are working to get bold measures taken as soon as pos-

sible in the field of arms reductions, measures which would embrace both nuclear and conventional weapons. There is nothing more absurd than the development of so-called "battlefield" nuclear forces. We think that they can and must be banned in Europe in the nearest future. We support the setting up of nuclear-free zones in the Balkans, in Central and Northern Europe. I would like to agree with the idea put forward by our friend and neighbour Todor Zhivkov—to conclude an agreement on ecological protection in the Balkans. I think this is an example of how nations belonging to different military alliances can, when they want to, find common ground for cooperation. We support the idea of turning the Mediterranean into a zone of peace through the withdrawal of the navies of all non-Mediterranean nations from the region. Simultaneously, progress should be ensured at the Veinna talks on the reduction of conventional weapons.

All these efforts are consonant with the general desire to build up détente and peace on the European continent which, eventually, should lead to a gradual and balanced elimination of American and Soviet bases in all other European countries, and to the disbandment of the opposing military alliances.

Along with all this, there are the technological and economic aspects of cooperation, and it is quite natural that the European nations should cooperate in these fields. All these questions could be put on the agenda of the discussion started at this meeting.

We are convinced, and we have already expressed that conviction, that the present situation is giving Europe a historic chance. We should seize that chance, if we do not want our continent to be turned into an area totally ignored by all others, torn by outside interests, and incapable of playing its own, independent role in the world.

And to conclude, let me share one more idea with you.

The French Revolution proclaimed civil freedoms and the ideal of democracy. The October Revolution pioneered the struggle against social inequality, for man's dominating role in society and in the economy. Today the world is threatened by nuclear and ecological catastrophies, famine, and poverty in the Third World.

We have to synthesize the values born in the period of the Enlightenment and by socialism, and also to enrich them with the new ideas put forward by the ecological, anti-war and national movements.

The way to such a synthesis lies only through a sweeping revolution in the field of democracy—a revolution which would focus on man and whose driving force would be the active participation of all the world's citizens.

We expect that the "revolution without shots", as Mikhail Gorbachev put it, will make an important contribution to that common struggle.

Member of the Permanent Bureau of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the Japanese Communist Party

Hiroshi TACHIKI

Dear comrades, friends,

Seventy years have passed since the victory of the October Socialist Revolution which ushered in a new era in the history of mankind. Socialism, which first triumphed under the leadership of Lenin and his party in a country of a relatively backward capitalism, has achieved unprecedented successes, despite the grim internal and external conditions, in the conditions of aggression and imperialist encirclement, having passed through innumerable hardships.

The proclamation of a foreign policy aimed at the defence of peace and the right of nations to self-determination, put forward in Lenin's time, as well as proofs of the superiority of the new system in the country, have become a source of great hopes and inspiration for the international working class suffering from capitalist oppression. After the Second World War one socialist state after another was born, and the triumphant march of the fighters for national emancipation continued. The struggle in capitalist countries, as well as the struggle for peace, against nuclear weapons continues to grow.

However, progress and the process of development in the modern world proceed in a rather complicated manner. Now that 70 years have passed since the October Socialist Revolution, a majority of the peoples on our planet has not yet arrived at socialism. Apart from socialist countries, there are developing states faced by a multitude of complex problems, and also capitalist countries, which, despite all contradictions, are still strong.

Speaking about industrial capitalist states, in one of which the Japanese Communist Party is working and fighting, the main factor behind the continued existence of a capitalist system is monopoly capital and the governments representing it that are taking various measures to prolong their life, jointly opposing the revolutionary forces, pursuing their class interests, and preserving their vitality by ignoring the interests and oppressing the people of developing and of their own countries. It should be added that they are making the most of the consequences of failures and errors of some socialist states. There is no need to repeat that the movement of socialism along the right path, the growth of the forces of national emancipation and the developing struggle of the working class of capitalist countries—all these are the principal factor of world progress. These forces are able to influence the course of history, promoting their activities in accordance with the conditions of social development in each country.

Monopoly capitalism resisting as it does the progressive course of world history, despite its deep-going contradictions, is still strong and

should not be underestimated. As for Japan, it is attracting attention by its rapid economic development. A major factor of this economic advancement is the restraining influence of the ban on maintaining armed forces recorded in the Constitution of Japan as a result of a self-critical assessment of the aggressive wars of the past. However, in the past few years, this spirit of the Constitution has been abandoned, and military expenditures began to mount due to the actions of the USA and its true ally—the Liberal-Democratic government. Moreover, a greater part of the world's most developed mass media in Japan has virtually been placed under their control. In these conditions the struggle and revolutionary movement of the Japanese people are accompanied with a host of difficulties. To overcome them and move forward new creative actions are required, which will enhance the international responsibility of the movement.

It goes without saying that no exacerbation of the economic contradictions of capitalism will automatically lead to a revolutionary crisis, which would result in replacing capitalism with another system. Progressive changes in the various countries of imperialism and monopoly capitalism can be placed on the agenda only when the revolutionary movement and the movement for a united front in these countries acquire a subjective potential which would suffice for taking power with the help of the people. This is of great international importance also. Proceeding from this view our party, when discussing changes in its programme at its 17th Congress two years ago, struck off the definition "the general crisis of capitalism".

One of the key points in the theory of "the general crisis of capitalism" is that it is the development of socialist countries that allegedly aggravates the crisis of the world capitalist system and speeds up its disintegration.

This gives rise to a tendency among the revolutionary forces of capitalist states to depend on socialist countries and leads to underestimating the principal thesis of scientific socialism about social development and class struggle, which says that revolutionary struggle grows, above all, due to internal social factors, particularly the strengthening of the subjective potential of the forces striving for social changes.

Although modern socialism demonstrates its advantages, the negative example of the hegemonistic attitude of some socialist countries, running counter to the principles of scientific socialism, has adversely affected the world revolutionary movement. And if one asserts that the realities and history of socialism have only a positive influence, it should be said that such assertions are based on erroneous premises which do not correspond to the truth.

Another important aspect. Now that the task of preventing nuclear war and scrapping nuclear weapons becomes so urgent and vital for the whole of humanity, the dangerous role of the forces stubbornly clinging to nuclear weapons and to the concept of nuclear deterrent, is growing.

A meeting of the leaders of industrial capitalist countries of the West in June 1987, openly proclaimed the concept of nuclear deterrent.

The reactionary government of Japan is pursuing a policy of turning the country into a nuclear base. A loyal assistant of the Reagan administration, it actively assumes an ever greater role in cooperation on the questions of US nuclear strategy. The struggle for the isolation of these reactionary governments, which inspire the forces stubbornly clinging to nuclear weapons, is playing a very crucial role in the realization of the cherished dream of mankind—to completely eliminate nuclear weapons.

A few days ago news came of an agreement reached between the USA and the USSR at the negotiations on medium-range missiles. If it is translated into life, nuclear disarmament will be effected in the world for the first time, and we cannot but welcome this. It is important to point out that a complete ban on all nuclear weapons will not come about automatically. We should emphasize that the decisive factor for banning and destroying all nuclear weapons would be the growing movement of the peoples. We should also draw a historic lesson from the campaign for collecting signatures to the Stockholm Appeal which was signed by 500 million people. We are calling on you here to launch a powerful campaign to make the number of signatures to the appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki more than a billion. That appeal is a modern version of the Stockholm Appeal, and signatures to it are being collected in 150 countries.

The struggle of all people in the countries of imperialism and monopoly capital is a motive force of world history and has a paramount significance for the cause of peace, national self-determination and social progress. This is especially pronounced today in connection with the struggle for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, which will remove the danger of a nuclear war threatening the whole of mankind.

This can be explained by the fact that in industrial capitalist countries—the countries of imperialism and monopoly capitalism—the pro-nuclear forces opposing the complete elimination of nuclear weapons and stubbornly adhering to the concept of nuclear deterrent, still dominate their governments and people. The people's and the anti-nuclear movement in the countries dominated by these pro-nuclear forces, constitute an important link in international cooperation and joint actions for scrapping nuclear weapons all over the globe.

The government of the Liberal-Democratic Party of Japan and its anti-communist accomplices, as junior partners of American imperialism, are playing an especially active reactionary role in the economic, political and military spheres of the camp of imperialism and monopoly capitalism.

The Japanese Communist Party is fighting against them at the head of the Japanese people.

Japan is connected with the US anti-communist reactionary military

system by a Japanese-American military alliance. This alliance legally consolidated by the US-Japanese Security Treaty is not only an aggressive military union between American imperialism and Japanese monopoly capital, but a treaty of Japan's dependence on the United States, infringing the country's sovereignty. This alliance subjugates Japan not only militarily, but also economically and politically, and is a source of all evil bringing harm and suffering to the Japanese people.

The delivery of nuclear weapons to US military bases, of which there are over a hundred on Japanese territory, and the turning of these bases into a springboard of nuclear war is also being done on the basis of the US-Japanese Security Treaty.

The question as to what position in relation to the US-Japanese Security Treaty and military alliance should be taken is that of a choice: should Japan be progressive or reactionary, should it stand for peace or for war, should it be genuinely independent or dependent on the United States? In other words, it is a major touchstone for all political parties and forces.

Even after the Japan Socialist Party reached an agreement with the anti-communist party Komeito in 1980 concerning the structure of coalition political power, which excludes the participation of the Japanese Communist Party, and, having changed its former course, recognized the US-Japanese Security Treaty, like all other political parties, except the Communist, which approve a military alliance between Japan and the USA, even after that the movement headed by our Party for the unconditional abolition of the Japanese-American military alliance has continued. A new movement for the creation of a united front, which advocated a policy of non-alignment and the non-acceptance of nuclear weapons, a policy of progressive renewal, has drawn a host of democratic organizations to the All-Japanese Council for a Progressive United Front. This movement continues to expand, and quite a few former members of the Japan Socialist Party are joining it. It unites more than 4,450,000 people representing various social sections of the population. These progressive-minded democratic forces of Japan are coming out for the abrogation of the Japanese-American military alliance by using one of the provisions of the security treaty between the two countries, which envisages its termination a year after one of the parties notifies the other about its desire to abandon it.

Simultaneously, the broad anti-nuclear forces in Japan are waging a campaign for the creation of a non-nuclear government in place of the pro-nuclear government of the Liberal-Democratic Party which is helping to turn Japan, on the strength of the US-Japanese Security Treaty, into a nuclear-war base. The aim of the campaign is to set up a non-nuclear gov-

ernment which would pursue a truly non-nuclear policy worthy of our country—the world's only victim of atomic bombardment.

It would be appropriate to remember the principles of foreign policy laid down by Lenin, who devoted great attention to the struggle of the working class in capitalist countries against exploitation and oppression and made a contribution to the development of this struggle. Lenin attached major importance to promoting self-determination of all nations and social changes for which the working class in capitalist countries is striving. In his activity he demonstrated the principles of the foreign policy of socialism, primarily, the principle of peaceful coexistence with capitalist countries.

When the imperialist intervention against the young socialist state was defeated, Lenin cited as an important factor of victory the struggle of the working people in capitalist countries, including those taking part in the intervention. Lenin regarded the fight of socialism for its existence and the struggle in capitalist countries as a single movement determining the course of world history. This reflected the essence of socialism and was a firm initial position relying on the principles of scientific socialism and historical materialism, which proclaim that the class struggle of the people of a given country is a motive force of social development.

As we have already mentioned, in the present situation, with the capitalist countries claiming a large share on our planet, the above principles point to the great importance of the struggle of the working class and working people in these countries for world historical progress.

However, despite this demand of history, the foreign policy of some socialist countries not only did not attach a major importance to the decisive role of the class struggle in capitalist countries, but on the contrary, created obstacles to that struggle for a number of years. Harmful interference was even practised. In particular, some socialist countries, claiming that their policies are determined by the principle of peaceful coexistence, make errors in whitewashing the Japanese reactionary forces.

It is important not only to avoid deliberately creating obstacles to, and interfering in, the liberation and revolutionary struggle in capitalist countries, but to refrain from any actions that might be conducive to such obstacles. This struggle should be a matter for the people of each country. As for Japan, it is necessary not only to avoid direct interference in and hindrance to the activity of the Japanese Communist Party, but also not to embellish the Japanese reactionary forces and anti-communist opposition parties, inasmuch as this inevitably leads to interference, but in different forms.

Our party has not stopped fighting the interference and hegemonistic entrenchments of the foreign forces, continuing since 1960 in the form of fostering and supporting anti-party groupings. This problem directly con-

cerns the essence of relations between Communist Parties. As long as such hegemonistic trends take place, there can be no restoring the unity and cohesion of the world communist movement, and it will be difficult to act jointly. All manifestations of hegemonistic attitude and first and foremost interference, should be eliminated.

It is said in the Report of the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th Party Congress: "We do not see the diversity of our movement as a synonym for disunity, much as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy, interference by some parties in the affairs of others, or the striving of any party to have a monopoly over what is right." To implement these words, to renounce having "a monopoly on the truth" in the world communist movement, to adhere to the generally recognized principles of the relations between the Communist and Workers' Parties, based on independence, equality, non-interference in internal affairs, and to search for truth standing on the positions of scientific socialism—this is what is necessary to give new vitality to the struggle for progress and inspire changes in world history.

We are confident that this is the road to the restoration of the initial revolutionary spirit worthy of the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution.

As Communists we are full of determination to create history and transform the world, striving for stronger international joint actions and stepping up the struggle in capitalist countries. We shall make every effort to advance the cause of the liberation of industrial capitalist countries, including our own, and to completely eliminate hegemonistic trends in the world communist movement.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Jambyn BATMUNH

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear Comrades, friends,

On behalf of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party I extend greetings to all the participants in this meeting. Representatives of large political parties, organizations and movements from all over the planet who have arrived here for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution are taking part in this informal meeting. This fact alone indicates the great historical significance of the October Socialist Revolution, the vitality of its ideas, and the huge impact it continues to have on the entire process of world development.

We have listened attentively and with great interest to the speeches made by the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and other participants in this meeting who touched upon the burning issues of our time. Those speeches reflect, in our view, a realistic evaluation of the global processes of world development and the vitally important and urgent problems facing humanity. This is especially significant in the present situation, when the realities of the nuclear and space age are posing in a new way the question of the future of mankind and our civilization.

Real socialism continues to implement the ideas of the Great October Revolution. Despite all the obstacles and difficulties of a trail blazer, it is reaching new targets, gaining momentum and enriching people with the experience of the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress. A vivid example of this is the success of the socialist community, unprecedented in world history, and the impressive achievements of the Soviet Union.

The consistent peace-loving policy of the CPSU and Soviet state is now based on the Soviet leadership's new, bold approach to the solution of key problems for the benefit of all the people. This is consonant with the interests and goals of our entire community, with the aspirations of nations struggling for national and social liberation, peace and universal security, and against capitalist domination and aggressive imperialist policies.

The large-scale Soviet initiatives and proposals are a product of a new political thinking brought about by the realities of the nuclear and space age, by the desire to rid mankind of the threat of nuclear catastrophe. World public opinion approves wholeheartedly and totally supports the Soviet concept of a stage-by-stage reduction and elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction and the idea of the creation of a comprehensive system of international security.

In the Mongolian People's Republic, as in all other countries, people are hoping that the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles and the beginning of full-scale negotiations on ending nuclear tests will become first steps towards the total elimination of nuclear weapons. The constructive and flexible approach of the Soviet Union, confirming with practical deeds its readiness to compromise for the sake of the supreme interests of humanity, inspires hope that the expectations of nations may prove to be justified, and that the search for ways ensuring the survival of humanity will be a central issue in the difficult process of the Soviet-American dialogue. The agreed-upon concept and agenda of the meeting between Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev and US President Ronald Reagan to be held in December in Washington testify to this.

Mankind is now faced with many new complex problems that have to be solved as quickly as possible. In a majority of cases this calls for joint, concerted efforts, fair consideration of the different and vital interests of nations making up the international community. These problems include the burning issues of preserving peace and security, the stable development of international economic relations based on a major democratization of these relations and the eradication of all kinds of discrimination and injustice. They also include the problem of settling differences in opinion and conflicts by political means, without discrimination or bloodshed. These are also the problems of preserving the ecological balance. The list of such problems could go on forever. Some of them were touched upon in the speeches at this forum.

I believe that the participants in this meeting have basically the same approaches and views. But the most important thing, as we see it, is that in our difficult time it is necessary to maintain an open and friendly dialogue on every controversial issue in order to promote mutual understanding and trust.

All this is applicable to Asia, where hotbeds of tension and military conflicts have been arising throughout the entire post-war period. There are many examples here: the Middle East problem in general, the critical situation in the Persian Gulf, the situation around Afghanistan, Kampuchea, etc. In a word, the Asian and Pacific region vitally needs a peaceful and just settlement to regional conflicts.

This is why we believe that the policy of national reconciliation should be supported in every way. This policy has been introduced in Asia and Central America. The governments and ruling parties in Afghanistan, Kampuchea and Nicaragua having initiated this constructive policy, are testing in practice this new, very promising approach to settling conflicts by peaceful means with the participation of all the parties concerned.

In our time, the late 20th century, no one can deprive nations of their

sacred right to choose their own way of development. The attempts of international imperialism to achieve its selfish goals through a policy of strength and diktat are being ever more decisively rejected by the freedom-loving nations.

As you all know, after the fall of the imperialist colonial system, many young and independent states appeared on the map of the world. In order to overcome the backwardness inherited from the past, they had to choose ways of their further development.

We, the Mongols, understand the significance of these problems. Back in the 20s, Mongolia also had to choose the way of its further development. At that time it was one of the most backward nations in the East. Since then, the country has traversed a difficult but glorious path leading from feudalism to socialism, by-passing the capitalist stage. Our party upheld the policy of non-capitalist development while waging a hard and uncompromising struggle to overcome economic backwardness and illiteracy, to get rid of foreign capital, rebuff imperialist encroachments, strengthen our ranks and social system, and create and develop a new economy and culture. First truly democratic changes and then socialist changes were introduced. At all stages of that revolutionary struggle we received help from the Soviet Union. Now we have built real socialism in our country.

Our time knows other socialist countries that started moving towards socialism when at a relatively low level of social and economic development.

We are glad that many developing nations are finding their own ways to social progress. Many countries have chosen a socialist way of development and have achieved great success in building a new life. Thus the practice of non-capitalist development has been enriched by the experience of many nations.

Dear Comrades and friends, today Asian nations enjoy respect and prestige in international affairs. The nations of the Asian continent contribute to world progress with their specific experience in the struggle for freedom, independence and social development.

I would like to mention here the consultative meeting held in July of this year in Ulan Bator of representatives of communist and revolutionary-democratic parties of the Asian and Pacific region. This was the first such meeting of all interested fraternal parties. There was a broad and free exchange of opinions on the problems of peace, security and neighbourly cooperation in the region. The meeting confirmed the necessity of intensifying and coordinating the actions of fraternal parties for removing the nuclear threat and establishing a lasting peace.

We believe that the consultative meeting which was held in an atmosphere of comradeship and international solidarity, was useful in that it

further strengthened the unity and solidarity among communist and revolutionary-democratic parties in the region and also promoted cooperation and interaction. The participants in that consultative meeting expressed the desire to hold similar meetings in the future. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party fully supports this idea, and will do everything it can to ensure its implementation.

Aware of the necessity to intensify the anti-war and anti-nuclear movement in the region, the MPRP thinks it would be worthwhile to hold an all-Asian Forum for peace and good-neighbourliness with the broad participation of public organisations from the Asian and Pacific region. The forum would, no doubt, help the nations of the continent coordinate their efforts and would facilitate the establishment of a system of international security in the Asian and Pacific region. We hope that fraternal Asian countries will actively help us in implementing this idea.

Our party will continue to contribute to the strengthening of the world communist movement, to the development of contacts with revolutionary parties, with all progressive forces struggling for peace and social progress, a lasting peace and security on the Asian continent.

I would like to express the confidence that, at this turning point in the history of humanity, communists from all over the world will remain at the forefront of the struggle for peace and security, for democracy and social progress, as they jointly search for very effective and, naturally, mutually-acceptable, ways of drawing the masses into that noble struggle.

General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA

Gus HALL

Comrade Gorbachev and comrades,

I know we are not wasting time by applauding speeches or events. But, as you have heard, one of the more extreme war hawks who has been the main obstacle to the nuclear arms agreement—War Secretary Weinberger—has decided to resign. That is good news. I suppose he thought Washington was not big enough for both him and Comrade Gorbachev. He resigned because he cannot accept the break in the nuclear arms race and because Congress is going to cut the war and the Star Wars budget. More than many, Weinberger understands that the accord will be the break—and that it will create its own inner dynamics, and that it will greatly add to the peace momentum.

The conveners of this informal free-for-all gathering showed great confidence in us when they said we could speak about anything we want to, as long as it doesn't take longer than ten minutes. Maybe we should have made the rule of 10 minutes more binding. So, with that in mind, I will speak about three issues briefly.

Watching the stock market crash from the ramparts of Wall Street, it appears more serious. The aftershocks will have a serious effect on all economic developments worldwide.

First and foremost, the crash is directly the result of supply-side, pump-priming, credit-card Reaganomics, which depends increasingly on borrowing and ever bigger artificial stimulants. The 400-billion-dollar trade deficit and the two-and-a-half-trillion-dollar Federal debt became an intolerably crushing weight on the overall economy. Thus, the US economy is basically unhealthy and unsound.

The storms that are battering the stock market are forerunners of things to come, because the same economic factors that brought on the tumbling markets are also the factors that are moving the capitalist world economies toward a new cyclical crisis. And just in the last days there is the free fall of the dollar which signals the beginning of a serious financial crisis. Against the German mark the dollar is now the lowest in history.

Because the center of the quake was on Wall Street, the aftershocks are having greatest impact on the United States.

The dead fall on the stock market is putting a brake on capital investments. It is further slowing down economic growth, which will result in increasing long-term unemployment.

The cutoff of capital investments will have a special negative effect on the newer high-technology industries which have thrived and depended for expansion capital on the highflying stock market.

As significant as the economic effects are, most likely the political and ideological effects will have an even greater impact. The crisis of confidence and the pessimism that is across the board and spreading will tend to further hold back any correction.

The shocks and tremors are a reminder for those who have forgotten that the basic laws of capitalist development have not withered away, that there are new developments, but they have not replaced the fundamental laws which continue to influence all capitalist developments.

The shocks should serve as a reminder that state monopoly capitalism can influence and even postpone crises; but it cannot resolve the basic inherent contradictions that do inevitably break out in crises.

The worldwide crash and panic has shaken up many economists, including some Marxists, who have become enamored with the so-called "Reagan revolution".

This is one of those moments in history when the specific self-interest of classes, social systems and countries tends to run along parallel lines. The world anti-fascist struggle in the 1930s was also such a moment.

However, the different self-interests did not melt into a single current, or an identical common interest. They came together into the anti-fascist movement for their special self-interest along parallel lines. And, as we know, that was a very important factor in the defeat of fascism.

Today, the threat of world nuclear extinction has again created such a moment, a moment in which the common self-interest of all humanity tends to coincide with the specific interests of differents sectors. It is most important to take this into consideration as a basis for the mobilization of all people's unity in the struggle to end the nuclear arms race.

However, it is also important to recognize that the overall interests cannot be superimposed or substituted for all of the other problems the people face. The challenge therefore is to synchronize the overall interests with the specific interests.

As true as it is, the argument that there will be nothing and no one left to fight over anything if the world goes up in nuclear smoke, does not by itself answer the dilemma of millions who are hungry, who are oppressed, who are homeless and workers in deep poverty. They have difficulty in seeing the overall nuclear danger because of the stark realities they must deal with daily.

To preserve life and nature it is necessary to unite to put an end to the madness of the nuclear arms race.

But to make life worth preserving, it is necessary to unite to fight against imperialism, to fight for the establishment of a new international economic order, to cancel the debts of the developing countries, to fight against the fascist military regimes. Placed correctly that does not weaken

the overall struggle to preserve life on this planet. Just the opposite, it gives the all-peoples' struggle a more stable basis.

The class struggle is not something that can be turned on or off. The fact is that even the sections of monopoly capital which are concerned about the threat to all living things on this earth are not yet prepared to give up their drive for maximum profits. This means we have to take this fact into our tactical approach.

The task of the peace majority leadership in the United States, for instance, is to find the ways and issues that minimize the contradictions and maximize the issues that make unity possible. Without such an approach, both the maximum mobilization and the struggle to put an end to the nuclear arms race and policies of imperialist aggression will suffer.

It is also important to keep in mind that even the sectors of monopoly capital that give their support to nuclear disarmament—and there are many of them—do not give up their ideology. So the ideological struggle must go on.

In this period, unity of all the people's forces has acquired a new power. The dynamics of unity have emerged as the main function of tactics—unity of the new world peace majority, unity of the working class, unity of the revolutionary anti-imperialist forces, unity of the world communist movement, have become historic necessities.

It is always nice to get together to chat and exchange experiences, but there are times when the working-class parties must get together and, on the basis of their exchanges, coordinate tactics, compare policies and assessments, and, yes, help and encourage each other.

These are times when unity of action has become an historic necessity. In its own class interest the working class must unite in the struggle against the multi-national corporations. In its class interest the working class must unite in the struggle against racism. In its own class interest the working class needs unity to deal with the effects of new technology.

Just as the people's movements and the trade unions need a new level of unity, so the working-class parties need a new level of unity. There is no need for communist and working-class parties to follow the pattern of the negotiations between some countries, each in their own separate rooms with a go-between. In the present moment working-class internationalism must mean more than sending birthday cards to each other. It must be unity in action, including communist unity in action.

The world needs a new level of unity to end the US aggression against Nicaragua. Unity is necessary to remove the regimes of South Africa and Chile. Today's world demands a new level of working class internationalism and world communist unity. Internationalism must be a live active force. Unity in struggle is the very essence of internationalism. There can be no real unity in struggle without meetings and conferences. Without

getting together there can be no world-wide initiatives in struggle. The weaknesses of the days of the Communist International are no excuse, for world communist unity that is a reflection of today's problems. Not to take steps toward closer working relationships between parties is in a sense self-redbaiting.

As long as I am one of the older cadre now, let me be so bold as to say something that I have wanted to say for a long time to you comrades who are from countries where there are more than one communist party: in the interest of directing our full force to the effort to save the human race from a nuclear disaster, in the interest of working-class unity, in the name of advancing human progress—put aside all subjectivity, discuss out your political differences, and get together. In any collective everyone must give up something. And, speaking from a selfish point of view—your splits weaken the struggle against US imperialism. In the case of communist parties, two is less than one.

And again what this moment calls for—more than anything else—is unity in struggle—unity in action.

Chairman of the Inter-Parliamentary Group in Riksdag, Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party

Sture ERICSON

Mr. President,

We who represent the Swedish Social Democratic Labour Party at this international forum first want to express our appreciation and thanks to our Soviet hosts. It is indeed a great experience to participate as observers at the solemn celebration of the 70th Anniversary of the October Revolution.

In 1906—eleven years before the October Revolution—Russian Social Democrats came to Stockholm to hold a clandestine party congress outside the reach of tsarist terror. A conservative newspaper in Stockholm asked: "What kind of people came with the boats from Finland? Are they a band of murderers and arsonists?" The president of the Swedish Social Democrats, Hjalmar Branting, answered: "No, they are people who seek refuge from death or prison or flogging."

The events in 1917 that you are now celebrating changed the course of world history and had a direct impact on the lives of peoples in many other countries.

As neighbours, we Swedes share hundreds of years of common history with the peoples who now form the Soviet Union. Our history books are full of dramatic wars but they often fail to record the peaceful trade and cooperation that through the centuries linked our peoples together.

Sweden has not been engaged in a war for more than 170 years. We are proud of this long period of peace and as a nation we are determined to do whatever is necessary to safeguard our independence and to live in peace with our neighbours. On the basis of respect for our territorial integrity and our policy of neutrality, we are open to a deepening of our bilateral contacts. The October Revolution 70 years ago cemented the division of the European labour movement into two major tendencies—a Social Democratic and a Communist one. This ideological split has affected the daily lives of most Europeans ever since.

In the future the controversy between the different social systems we represent must take one form only, the form of peaceful competition, that is, without the use of force. It is by example only that either system can show the advantages it claims to have.

We Swedish Social Democrats consider ourselves an integral part of Western democracy. A democracy organized on the principle of pluralism is the binding framework of the society which we are prepared to defend with all means. And it is within such a society we want to develop our democratic socialism.

To Social Democrats human rights as such have an absolute value and must be protected and actively promoted when abused by economic and

governmental power. Basic human rights constitute the yardstick and objective for governmental action.

We believe that vital and as far as possible unrestricted pluralism in the field of culture, science and the arts as well as in the formation of political opinion is a fundamental expression of freedom. It is also a necessary prerequisite for the full development of the individual citizen.

In our view free debate and competition between ideas is the best way of finding good answers to new questions, of mobilizing forces to counter the abuse of economic power and of bringing about necessary changes in society.

Other participants in this meeting can probably better than I define how Marxists-Leninists differ from us on these basic issues. It is important for the future that we do not build up enemy images of each other and do not distort the motives of the other side.

Our differences will remain but we have to find better ways to live with them than we did during the past 70 years. We have to calibrate the mutually beneficial and stable balance between competition and cooperation. It is only together that we can build a better and safer world for coming generations.

Recently we were pleased to read an article in *Moscow News* by Boris Pankin, the Soviet Ambassador to Stockholm, in which he recommended studying the Swedish achievements in building a society based on a "mixed economy" following "the third road". Pankin indicated that the time was ripe to stop using sarcastic references to Social Democrats as "class peacemakers" and instead start making critical in-depth studies of what he calls "the Swedish model".

Two threats of annihilation hover over mankind: A nuclear war and the global destruction of the environment. The first can be unleashed at any minute. The second will take longer. This we know: If we are not able to remove these threats there is a danger that all human life will be wiped out.

There is no sensible alternative to an active policy of safeguarding peace through disarmament and peaceful cooperation and competition. For a long time now this has been obvious.

It is important that non-nuclear states also have a say in negotiations on nuclear arms. The nuclear winter knows no national boundaries. Not only do we all have a right but we have a duty to work for a world free from nuclear arms.

We welcome the possibility of an INF-agreement between the Soviet Union and the USA as an historic departure from the nuclear arms policies of the two superpowers. It would indeed be the first real step away from the dangerous policies of suicidal nuclear deterrence.

An INF-treaty would reduce the nuclear arsenals by some 3-4%.

However, it is a sad fact that even a reduction by 95% would leave a nuclear potential big enough to destroy human civilization.

A complete ban on nuclear tests is the most effective means of putting an end to the nuclear arms race. Without testing, the research and development of new types of nuclear weapons would eventually stop.

Almost 30 years ago Andrei Sakharov appealed to Nikita Khrushchev to stop nuclear testing. Today our world would have been a much safer place if that advice had been followed.

For many years Sweden has worked for a comprehensive test ban treaty at the disarmament conference in Geneva. Through the Six Nation Initiative, first Olof Palme and now his successor prime minister Ingvar Carlsson together with five other leaders have repeatedly called for a test ban. They have also offered their assistance in monitoring a CTBT.

The spread of nuclear weapons to more states must be halted. Two decades ago the superpowers in the nonproliferation treaty pledged to proceed with nuclear disarmament. We have waited impatiently to see that pledge honoured. An effective nonproliferation regime is of utmost importance and requires active cooperation between the superpowers.

It is also possible to apply other geographical limitations to the deployment of nuclear weapons. Six years ago the Swedish parliament unanimously supported the idea of setting up a nuclear weapons free zone in the Nordic countries. A joint Nordic governmental committee is now working on the modalities of such a zone and the five Nordic foreign ministers deal with this question at their regular meetings.

On October 1 General Secretary Gorbachev in his speach in Murmansk demonstrated an active interest in restricting and reversing the arms race in Northern Europe. We look upon the naval arms race as an increasing threat to the security of the Nordic countries. Thus we study with keen interest all proposals for limiting the naval activities in the seas surrounding Scandinavia. In this context it is also proper to repeat the Swedish demand that all nuclear weapons be removed from the Baltic Sea.

The proposals of the Palme Commission that a corridor free of battlefield nuclear weapons be created in Central Europe is still valid. It would constitute a confidence building measure of great significance and could be extended to cover other kinds of weapons as well.

International security should be founded on something other than nuclear deterrent. Security is ultimately a political issue, not a military one. This is the simple idea underlying the concept of "common security" coined by Olof Palme. Peace can no longer be achieved by arming against each other, it can only be agreed upon with each other.

Both sides must take into account and respect the other side's legitimate security interests. Both sides will have to concede to the other side the same measure of security they claim for themselves. An enduring sys-

tem of international security must include not only military but also political, economic and humanitarian aspects.

As an extension of Social Democratic policies on the national level Sweden is actively involved in international efforts to protect the human environment, in the protection of the soil, air and water, in short, the preservation of conditions worthy of dignified human life.

In many places around the world forests and watercourses have died or are in the process of dying. The protective ozone layer in the atmosphere is already partly destroyed. People are in danger of having their lives shortened as a result of toxic emissions from industries. Environmental problems are common to all countries. No system of government can claim that it has not been guilty of disastrous mistakes, nor that it can solve these problems without cooperation across national boundaries.

Vigorous initiatives and energetic and discerning joint planning is required. The Nordic countries have tabled proposals to the CSCE in Vienna on environmental issues. They were received favourably, but we appeal for active support in Vienna.

We appreciate the fact that General Secretary Gorbachev recently expressed interest in Murmansk in increased cooperation in saving the Baltic Sea. The Baltic environment is threatened but determined action by the seven coastal states can yet reverse this negative trend. There is no time to lose.

Sweden's policy of neutrality is based solidly on our history and our geography. With our geographic position in a sensitive region it is imperative that Sweden should not be seen as a potential threat by anyone.

Neutrality has to be pursued first and foremost by political means. It is a longterm policy not subject to change according to pressures from abroad. This neutrality is further supported by a strong military defense. We build our defense without help from abroad. Neutrality is not on the cheap.

Our policy of neutrality imposes on us an obligation to strive for respect for international law, protection of human rights, strengthening of the United Nations, lessening of tensions, disarmament and economic assistance to developing countries.

It is in our national interest to support the rights of small nations to independence and selfdetermination. Therefore we do not hesitate to speak out when big powers violate the rights of small nations. We have strongly criticised the military intervention by the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and we urge the withdrawal of the Soviet troops. If, after the destructive war of recent years, the Afghan people need assistance in order to stabilize and build an independent nation, such a task could be fulfilled by peacekeeping forces of the United Nations. At present the Soviet Union is losing its international prestige and trustworthiness with every shot that is fired in the mountains of Afghanistan. We also strongly criticised the USA for its

war against Vietnam and we have vehemently opposed its present military aggression by proxy against Nicaragua. In the same spirit we have repeatedly stated that the borders of Sweden are also sacred.

Swedish Social Democrats are not ideologically neutral, but share the Western ideals of democracy, freedom, social justice and civil rights.

We who have gathered here in Moscow at the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution represent different political tendencies. But I am convinced that one ambition unites us all: We want our children to grow up and live in a world free from the threat of nuclear annihilation and in a human environment which is fresh and clean and healthy. Such a world can be built only if we are able to join hands and work together without regard to national boundaries and ideological differences. If we fail there may not be a world to live in for our children.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia

Mengistu Haile MARIAM

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,

Thank you for the opportunity to address this meeting.

The comrades that spoke yesterday raised many problems and questions pertaining to the contemporary world. In their speeches they dealt with all countries and continents. I would not like to repeat what has already been said. The ideas and proposals put forward by the previous speakers are important and topical.

The exchange of opinions on these issues, the atmosphere in which it took place— is already a very significant fact.

Because the world we live in is full of complex and controversial problems, it would be impossible for us to find the right solutions to all the problems at this forum, or come to a unanimous conclusion regarding these solutions.

Indeed, to solve any problem we have to begin by thoroughly studying the history of its emergence and development. Besides, as I believe, we should also bring our possibilities into conformity with the time, place and situation.

As for the basic questions that were raised, I believe that we have come to an agreement at this meeting and are united in our views on all of these questions.

First, we can say that we hold a firm and consistent stand against imperialism—the source of all our troubles, the enemy of not only the working class, but also of peace and social progress for mankind as a whole.

This is the most important thing uniting us and it leaves no one indifferent.

Second, at present nuclear weapons, which were created thanks to achievements of science and technology, possess such a colossal destructive potential that, if used, they will spare neither adults nor children, neither rich nor poor, they will annihilate all classes. Undoubtedly, our views are the same here.

Third, as regards issues concerning the preservation of peace on the planet, everyone knows that there are wars going on in various parts of the world that were directly or indirectly unleashed by the imperialists and many people are getting killed in those wars, including innocent women, old people and children. Although their number can not be compared to the potential number of victims of a nuclear catastrophe, with its thermonuclear blasts and the deadly irradiation, this problem is an alarming one for all of us, and we can not be silent about it.

Fourth, there is the human rights issue. In the West this notion has lost its initial meaning and significance. Under the pretext of defending human rights imperialist forces are plundering and exploiting entire peoples, driving them off their homeland and destroying them.

In practical terms, if we consider the human rights issue from the correct positions, it is perfectly obvious that it includes the issue of the unprecedented repressions of the apartheid regime in South Africa against the indigenous population, as a result of which innocent people are being killed, and the problem of the multi-million-strong Palestinian nation, which for over 40 years has had to live in exile, far from its homeland.

Most of us believe that fascism was eliminated in the Second World War. This is true as far as Hitler's fascism goes. But I want to ask the participants in this meeting: what about the situation in Latin America, where fascists are at work again, killing thousands of people in Chile, Salvador and other countries?

In conclusion I would like to suggest that we use this wonderful opportunity of all of us being gathered here for the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution to evolve a mechanism for our future joint struggle. Let me on behalf of all the delegates of the Workers' Party of Ethiopia express our deep gratitude to Lenin's great party and its leader, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, for the initiative to hold this meeting and the opportunity granted us to take part in it.

Member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Workers' Party of Korea

Pak Sung CHUL

Comrades and friends,

A new stage in the history of mankind, which the Great October Socialist Revolution began, is going through a revolutionary period that will lead to the final victory of the cause of peace and socialism.

Because of the decisive role played by the Soviet Union in the Second World War, fascist Germany and militarist Japan were defeated. As a result, world imperialism suffered a serious blow and was weakened. A wide road leading to the creation of a new and happy life was opened for the nations striving for peace and democracy, national independence and socialism.

But the reactionary forces that had outlived their time—the imperialists—refused to leave the historical scene voluntarily, and tried desperately to save what was doomed to an inevitable downfall.

US imperialists, who since the Second World War have occupied a dominating position in the capitalist world, reorganized capitalism and internationalized it through transnational corporations, monopolistic capital forming their core. Applying diverse neocolonialist methods, the imperialists joined efforts and increased the exploitation and plundering of young independent and developing nations.

The proponents of imperialism proclaimed loudly that decaying capitalism had allegedly resolved all its basic contradictions and had come back to life.

But the old diseases of capitalism were never healed. While in the past the imperialists spent a lot of energy arguing about colonies and the redistribution of spheres of influence, after the war, led by US imperialists, they entered into a collusion and easily plundered the developing nations. Thus the world was partitioned into the rich "North"—the capitalist countries—and the poor "South"—the developing countries. This proves that imperialism failed to lessen the contradictions, expressed by the saying "the rich get richer, and the poor get poorer". On the contrary, these contradictions have acquired a global character.

Because of the plundering international economic order based on neocolonialism, the developing countries' economic dependence and impoverishment grows incessantly, and their foreign debts increase with every passing day.

The impoverishment of the developing countries and their decreasing solvency cannot but have an impact on the very imperialists who are exploiting these countries. Imperialist powers have been forced to cut production, and this, in turn, leads to such insurmountable obstacles as growing unemployment, inflation, and aggravation of the economic crisis of imperialism.

The basic reason for imperialism's current crisis lies in its inherent policy of aggression and plundering. Imperialists must agree to the destruction of the current unfair economic order and to the establishment of a

new, just one. However, they still haven't stopped acting like exploiters and plunderers. They not only cling to the old, plunderous economic order, increasing the exploitation of the developing nations, but are further militarizing the economy and building up international tension.

Trying to find a way out of the serious crisis which threatens to lead to a new war, the imperialists direct their offensive against the socialist countries—the stronghold of peace and progress, and against the world communist movement.

Claiming that the "21st century will be the era of the Pacific Ocean", US imperialists use South Korea as a military and strategic base in their offensive against socialism, and, simultaneously, as a political and economic outpost for spreading slander and insinuations about socialism and embellishing neocolonialism. The Korean peninsula has become a place of sharp confrontation between socialism and imperialism, between peaceful and aggressive military forces.

The Workers' Party of Korea and the Korean people regard as their sacred duty to the world communist movement and world revolution to properly defend the eastern outpost of peace and socialism under the conditions of a head-on confrontation with American imperialism—the leader of world imperialism—and to lead the Korean revolution to victory.

Comrade Kim Il Sung, while laying the way for the Korean revolution under the banner of Marxism-Leninism, at one point clearly outlined the following principle: the fate of the revolution depends, in the final analysis, on the role of the masses—the subject of the revolution. The Korean Communists, who organized and led the Korean people, should therefore work out their own positions and lead the revolution creatively and in accordance with the specific conditions in their country. And for that, it was necessary to first of all strengthen the party itself—the headquarters of the revolution, its guiding force.

In the conditions of the country's partition and confrontation with large and aggressive imperialist forces, our party saw its own ideological and organizational development, as well as strengthening ties with the masses, as the major guarantee of the revolution's successful development and of construction.

We have learned from our own experience that in a revolution it is important to work out the right strategy and tactics, but it is even more important to solve one major problem—that of strengthening the subject of the revolution, which represents the unity of the leader, party and masses. Hoping for a revolution to be successful without paying much attention to this major problem, is just like expecting a poorly-attended garden to yield a good harvest.

Esteemed comrade Kim Il Sung is constantly teaching us that we should look for the reasons for success or failure in ourselves, while the object of activity lies in the objective reality. Because a major factor of success in a revolution and construction lies in the subject of the revolution, the party should not blame objective conditions if it has made mistakes in its revolutionary activity. Instead, it should learn from its own experience in

guiding the masses. The emphasis on the decisive role of the subject in a revolution and in the subsequent development does not mean that other factors should be underestimated, such as the society's material base and social relations. In the process of socialist construction it is important, through transforming the environment, to lay a sound material and technical base for the new society, and, by transforming social relations, create social conditions for ensuring the independent and creative activity of the masses. However, it is man who transforms both the environment and society. That is why it is essential for a revolution's successful development that a lot of attention be paid to the moulding of a new man, that he be made a strong individual highly developed ideologically and culturally.

Our party has adopted a consistent course aimed at making the policy of moulding the new man the number one task, and at the same time at working hard on transforming the environment and society. This party line was clearly expressed in the well-known formula of Comrade Kim Il Sung: "Communism is the power of the people plus three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural."

Our party has evolved a course, in the form of a general strategic task of building socialism and communism, aimed at conquering the material citadel of socialism and communism by way of actively carrying out a technological revolution, and also at solving the cultural and ideological problems of the new society by way of the priority development of the ideological revolution and speeding up the cultural revolution.

Our party is actively carrying out three revolutions—ideological, technological and cultural—and at the same time, as it implements the principles of socialist democracy, attaches great significance to the steady enhancement of the functions and role of the state and social system.

One of the major problems to be solved by the ruling, working-class party is the elimination of bureaucracy and strengthening of socialist democracy within the party and state.

There is a Korean saying that goes "Pure water comes from a pure spring." In a socialist society the supreme guiding political organization is the revolutionary party. We must not forget that if the party is strong, then the atmosphere in the entire society is healthy, if the party is unwell, it passes this on to the entire society.

The major reason for the emergence of bureaucracy in a socialist society lies beyond the system itself. It emerges because officials stick to their egoistic approaches and because vestiges of the old-time ideology of the anti-popular officials who did not respect and defied the working people—now the masters of their state and social system—continue to exist.

This is why to eradicate bureaucracy and develop democracy it is most of all important to establish democracy within the party, to implement the revolutionary policy of relying on the masses and serving them—and in this way, to solve the problem of introducing among party workers good methods and styles of work.

Developing the revolutionary methods and popular styles of work inherited from the trying days of the anti-Japanese revolutionary struggle,

our party is closely combining the work aimed at establishing a single ideological system inside the party with the work to implement a mass-oriented policy in the activity of the party. The party has successfully overcome bureaucracy and has achieved unity with the masses, which is based on socialist democracy.

To develop the advantages of the socialist system, along with developing productive forces on the basis of the latest achievements of science and technology, we should be constantly improving management methods. In doing this, however, we should use the revolutionary principles and methods characteristic of socialism as a base. In particular, it is necessary above all to raise the ideological, cultural and technological level of the people—the masters of a socialist society.

One of the advantages of the socialist system is that this system is based not only on genuine democracy, but also on collectivism, which in essence is revolutionary comradeship.

Our party is popularizing the democratic principles, established within it and introducing an atmosphere of democracy in all spheres of our society. At the same time our party wants all people, under the leadership of the party, to help each other in a comradely way and to display mass heroism. In this way the party is successfully revealing the advantages of the socialist system.

We can definitely say that socialism has firmly established itself on the Korean soil, that the Democratic People's Republic of Korea has turned into an impregnable fortress, which, despite all the storms, is effectively protecting the outpost of peace and socialism in the East.

American imperialism represents the main threat to peace in Korea. To safeguard peace in our country it is urgently necessary to eliminate the state of sharp military confrontation, to ease tensions, withdraw American troops and remove nuclear weapons from South Korea, and turn the Korean peninsula into a nuclear-free zone of peace.

The struggle for peace in Korea is closely linked with the struggle for peace throughout the world.

Our party actively supports the peaceful initiatives and proposals that have been put forward by the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and all peace-loving states and are aimed at averting nuclear war and preserving peace and security in the world. Our party also continues to strengthen its solidarity with the peace-loving nations that are working for the implementation of these initiatives.

While aggression and wars are a means of existence for imperialism, peace is vitally important for socialism.

Every day people in South Korea realize more clearly that US imperialists have turned their country into a major nuclear base in the Far East. US imperialists represent a threat to the nation's existence and to peace in Korea, for they support the military-fascist regime and oppose the country's unification.

Today students and the working masses in South Korea look with hope towards the socialist society in the North of the country where all

people, being masters of their society, lead independent and creative lives. Firmly convinced that only the revolutionary ideas of President Kim Il Sung can save the nation, they are struggling against American imperialism and for independence, against fascism and for democratization, against the colonial domination of US imperialism. Their struggle is supported by the peace-loving nations of the planet that are working for peace and social progress.

All this is a demonstration of the definite superiority of socialism over capitalism in Korea, and the triumph of the peace-loving policy of our party and government.

A great deal of time has passed since the victory of the October Revolution, generations have changed, but the cause of the world revolution started by great Lenin remains and the goal of the revolution has not changed. Revolutionaries should never forget the past, even though life has changed. We should learn from previous generations of revolutionaries how to be determined and firm in regard to our revolutionary principles—a quality they displayed under most difficult conditions, how to pass the revolutionary struggle on from generation to generation until the revolution is finally victorious.

Rallied round the Workers' Party of Korea, which is headed by Comrade Kim Il Sung, our people, carrying high the banner of anti-imperialism and peace, the banner of socialism and communism, will continue to accelerate the socialist construction going on in the North of the republic, to actively support the struggling South Korean people and consolidate international solidarity with the fraternal socialist countries and with all revolutionary nations in the world, and to perform its national and international duty to the revolution.

Long live the unity and solidarity of the world communist movement, and peace throughout the world!

Chairman of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia

Boško KRUNIĆ

Comrades,
Dear friends,

I am happy to convey greetings to you on behalf of the League of Communists and all working people of Yugoslavia. First of all, I'd like to express our gratitude to our hosts, and especially to Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, for their useful initiative which reaffirms the new atmosphere in their country. This atmosphere is becoming stronger and is facilitating the creation of a favourable climate in the world and in the workers' and other progressive movements.

Comrades, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia has always advocated complete equality and the broadest cooperation possible between the Communist, Workers', Socialist, Social-Democratic, national-liberation and all other progressive and democratic parties and movements, provided that the distinctions between them are taken into account and that each party's right to choose its own path of social development, on the basis of its responsibility to its own working class and people, is respected. At our 13th Congress we arrived at the conclusion that such cooperation is "a major factor of social progress and the development of present-day international relations as a whole."

In order to be more successful in our handling of the problems of the modern world, we must overcome ideological intolerance and avoid labelling in the relations between parties and movements. There are numerous and natural distinctions in their approaches, historical heritage and practical policies. However, if their relations are founded on complete equality, respect for one another, mutual understanding and readiness for a tolerant and democratic exchange of views, if every specific experience is regarded as a contribution to the cause of common progress, then differences will not be an obstacle, but an impetus for the development of cooperation and a contribution enriching the ways of building socialism.

This is all the more important because, challenged as we are by the new scientific and technological revolution of the 21st century, we have no ready-made answers to many questions of further progress. Socialism as a world process needs to combine in a new way the constant growth of the productive forces with the further humanization and democratization of social relations, and this calls for major structural changes. The reforms begun in socialist countries are developing within the framework of a search for answers to all these questions and therefore deserve our full support.

The League of Communists of Yugoslavia will continue to seek ways

of further enriching socialist self-government, which is the cornerstone of our socio-economic system.

Comrades, among the major characteristic features of the modern world are its greater interdependence and the closer relationships between peoples and countries. Social, political, economic, cultural and other processes acquire a global character and cease to be only national or regional. This applies, first of all, to such important issues as peace, security, disarmament, economic development, technological progress, and environmental protection. The number of questions that concern all peoples and countries, all of humanity is growing. "Peace is indivisible". This idea has even greater significance today. The problems of the modern world are increasingly becoming our common problems, and we have to search for and find partial and global solutions to them. And this can only be done through joint efforts.

At the 8th Conference of non-aligned states in Harare, struggle for peace, prevention of nuclear war and economic development were justly declared the principal tasks of our time.

The policy of non-alignment and the non-aligned movement, a global, independent and non-bloc factor of international relations, advocate a world without wars, without violence, a world in which the peoples are masters of their own destinies, and independence, freedom, equality, unhampered development and the free disposal of one's own national wealth and the results of one's labour are the requisites of the prosperity of all; a world without any discrimination and without hegemonistic aspirations under any pretexts.

We all realize full well what a catastrophe would befall mankind, should a nuclear war break out. I should like to recall President Tito's words to the effect that there would be no victors in such a war, only the vanquished. Such a war contradicts the ideals of progress and socialism. From its very inception the idea of socialism was based on the creation of a free community of men, in which there would be no wars, violence or oppression. We see in this age-old aspiration of the workers' movement a close connection between peace and socialism, and today it is stronger than ever before. Peace has become a prerequisite for everything, a prerequisite for humanity's very survival.

We are now living through a period when it is realistic to believe in the possibility of peace being preserved. The Soviet-American agreement on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles, which is justifiably getting full support, will undoubtedly instil greater hope that this process will continue on a broader basis, right up to the total elimination of all types of weapons of mass destruction.

We believe that any progressive party or movement, irrespective of its ideological orientation, can cope with the tasks facing it only if it consist-

ently fights for a transformation of the world and socio-economic relations that would ensure everyone a life worthy of man. An analysis of the world situation shows that we are still far from achieving this goal. Two-thirds of humanity lives in poverty. Since the last decade the real per capita social product has remained at the same level or even dwindled in most developing countries. Millions of people are suffering from hunger. The economic development of many countries, and whole continents for that matter, has virtually come to a standstill. The situation is getting worse with every passing day due to the unequal conditions of trade and the crisis caused by growing debts; meanwhile the gap between industrial and developing countries continues to widen. Many countries and peoples have been deprived of the lawful right to dispose of their natural resources and national wealth as they see fit.

It would be wrong to think that these problems concern the developing countries alone. I will say it again that we live in one world and that these problems face the international community as a whole. They pose an ever greater threat to peace and security throughout the world. This is why the economic and technological progress of developing countries is a problem of major international significance and bears on the interests of all. This is also an ethical problem for progressive parties and movements, for the present state of the world is in deep contradiction to the ideals of equality, freedom and fraternity among peoples. This is also a major class issue, and one's attitude to it is a criterion of one's progressiveness in the present conditions.

In this context, I would like to express on behalf of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia solidarity with and support for all those who are suffering from the consequences of this unjust situation and who are fighting for national independence and against colonialism, imperialism, hegemonistic tendencies, pressure, and all forms of oppression.

The international community is today facing a question of paramount significance for its destiny: how and in what direction is it to develop? We are now at a historical crossroads. The future of mankind depends on what path world development will take. The present generation bears a tremendous responsibility. The development of the productive forces and the scientific and technological revolution are capable of creating the prerequisites for a new quality of life and for a new, more humane society. But if technological progress continues to develop within the framework of the existing unequal political and economic relations and division of the world, this will inevitably lead to the world's redivision, the emergence of new forms of subordination, domination and exploitation, and the further perfection of the means of carrying off mankind's self-destruction.

Faced with this dilemma, we must state resolutely that democracy is a universal and supreme principle not only when the internal structure of in-

dividual countries is concerned, but also in international economic and political relations. For the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and our country as a whole, the democratization of international relations presupposes the consistent application of the principles of the UN Charter, active peaceful coexistence, as well as the principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. These principles stem from our view of the world as a community of equal peoples, which, in essence, is a basic ideal of the working class and the socialist movement. This is why our direct primary task is to call upon everyone to use the fundamental principles of the UN as a guide in their actions. This means that we should work stubbornly to ensure that the UN plays the role in resolving international problems that belongs to it as the only universal and genuinely democratic body of the international community.

Comrades, the building of the future has always been the foremost task of the progressive social forces. Whether this future will be the result of the conscious activities of men or the spontaneous actions of irrational forces depends primarily on whether the international community will participate in the construction of this future as a single whole. This, in turn, depends on how successful our parties and movements will be in realizing the need for global actions and efforts to assert the ideas of equality and cooperation of all peoples within the framework of an international community based on peace and solidarity. This is not a Utopia, although it might seem so in the context of the grim realities around us. Quite recently the political map of the world looked differently; where dozens of liberated countries are now located, there were once dark spots indicating colonial possessions. And do we know what the world will be like in 20 or 30 years from now? It will be such as we are able to make it—free of the ideological intolerance inherited from the past and undivided.

Concluding my speech, I'd like to repeat that a just world community is a prerequisite of peace, security and human progress. This world belongs to all of us. Everyone must work to make conflicts give way to cooperation so that the present and coming generations might lead a peaceful life, a life in which the dignity and happiness of people are placed above all else.

Member of the Leadership of the Italian Socialist Party

Laura FINKATO

Comrade General Secretary,

On behalf of the delegation of Italian Socialists, the Secretary General Bettino Craxi, and National Vice-Secretary of the Party Claudio Martelli, I extend to you greetings from the Italian Socialist Party.

We listened attentively and then read your report at the festive meeting to mark the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

This report is a further contribution to the efforts aimed at change and renewal, which have been characteristic of your activity as General Secretary of the Party for over two years.

Of course, you know with what interest and sympathy all progressive forces in Europe and throughout the world, and especially Socialist, Social-Democratic and Labour parties, are following your efforts.

Naturally, this does not mean that we agree with all the fundamental principles you put forward, and with the entire analysis and logic of your conclusions. Indeed, can we agree that socialism originated in Russia in 1917, and that only here, and only since then has scored major achievements? Such an interpretation tends to ignore a considerable period of socialism's fundamental history and leads to an underestimation and neglect of the experience accumulated in Europe and other parts of the world, as well as the breakthroughs achieved in the field of social equality and well-being under conditions of freedom and democracy.

Nonetheless we appreciate the attention you gave, in your historical analysis as well, to the pre-revolutionary period, to the February democratic and the socialist revolution of 1917, to the debates within the Bolshevik party and to the ideas subsequently buried in oblivion as a result of the repressions of the 20's and 30's. We appreciate the fact that you have denounced the "grave and unforgivable mistakes" of the Stalin era, and the fact that you mentioned the attempts at reform undertaken by Khrushchev.

To have a profound understanding of the past and talk about it without hushing up certain facts, to see its bright and dark sides, the mistakes and horrors of a great history—all this is necessary for a better understanding of the present period, and for the building of a different and better world.

The October Revolution is not only part of the history of Soviet peoples; it belongs, at least according to its consequences, to the history of the world working-class movement and world history.

And it had a huge political impact on Italy too.

The Italian socialist movement split into two groups: those who remained true to the original socialist policy of gradual reformism, and those

who wanted to "do as was done in the USSR", who therefore left the Socialist Party and formed the Italian Communist Party.

At present, 70 years later, restructuring and openness, the revolutionary reforms you advocate, the double goal of public democratization and economic modernization—all this, in our view, makes the discussions of those years topical again and facilitates a rapprochement of the historical outlooks of Social-Democrats and Communists.

We do not express our opinion on the possibility of resolving the historical conflict between the experience of social democracy and communism within the framework of Leninism.

We have always thought highly of the striving for socialist democracy, independence in the economic and production spheres, useful initiatives in the sphere of human rights, acknowledgement of the importance of a free, diverse and pluralistic public opinion, as well as a more direct participation of the people in the running of governmental institutions and the adoption of decisions on a national scale.

The facts seem to indicate that there is the understanding that no reform initiated from above can be successful, if it does not involve all the people and the renewal of the society from below.

All this constitutes the gist of the problem society is facing: the problem of political democracy and its forms in the context of a collectivist society and one-party system.

As Europeans and democratic Socialists we are vitally interested in the revolution that has been started developing in all directions.

Comrade General Secretary,

The struggle for peace, détente and disarmament is, no doubt, an area vital for improving relations between the CPSU and the ISP, between Communist and Social-Democratic parties, and for improving international relations in general.

We appreciate the fact that your activity as General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee has been marked not only by bold proposals for reforms in Soviet society, but also by new, significant initiatives on the international scene. I above all have in mind the proposals on disarmament, which have already been implemented in the agreement on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles in Europe. I mean your readiness to reduce strategic armaments and achieve a balance of forces on a lower level in conventional weapons. The fact that these agreements have been included in the broader context of coexistence, détente, peaceful competition is sign of sagacity and foresight.

Europe cannot but take part in all these processes, and the Socialist, Social-Democratic and labour parties in Europe have always actively supported peace and a balance of forces in the world based on peaceful and

mutually-beneficial relations, on the sovereignty of states, independence of nations, and the acknowledgement of human rights.

In the conditions of détente and peace we can and must work more boldly to lessen and eradicate the sharp inequality between the planet's North and South, to put an end to the arms race and the famine, backwardness, disease and illiteracy affecting four-fifths of the world's population.

In the conditions of détente and peace, unprecedently large resources could be channelled out of the insane arms race and into the protection and repair of the environment which has been polluted and in many regions is ugly and deserted as a result of spontaneous industrial development.

Mr. General Secretary,

To establish political democracy and develop socialist democracy, to move forward towards peace, to eradicate the extremely unjust and profound inequality in the world, to preserve and develop natural resources by restoring the ecological balance on the planet—for all this sincere and constructive cooperation between democratic Socialists and Communists in Europe and throughout the world is absolutely essential, urgent, and feasible.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba

Fidel CASTRO

Dear Comrades,

This significant international forum that our Soviet comrades have organized is the best way to mark the 70th anniversary of the glorious October Revolution. It confirms the consistent Soviet stand that the future may be guaranteed through a broad combination of forces involving—as we are witnessing here—various ideological trends and movements which may be different but yet ready to work to preserve peace and ensure a peaceful future for all nations.

In a short speech it is impossible to deal with all the issues that have to be solved at this decisive moment in world history. We can only confirm here that peace is the most important condition for us, and that peace is closely linked with development. Development without peace and disarmament is inconceivable, while peace without development is unrealistic.

It is important to define here, however, what our world should be like under conditions of the coexistence of the two different social systems, how we can build that future world on the basis of our world today where there is uneven development and striking underdevelopment, where people in underdeveloped countries refuse to tolerate the burden of foreign debts that are impossible to pay back; a world where dirty wars against sovereign nations are going on, such as in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique and other countries, where there exists the ugly system of apartheid, where we have to witness such things as the Palestinian tragedy and where over 100 nations are virtually neo-colonies; a world that means famine and poverty for billions of people; a world where life expectancy in many countries is twice as short as in most developed states; a world where thousands upon thousands of children—who under different conditions would survive—die every day; a world in which, despite all these tragedies, science and engineering promise new, inspiring prospects, provided we achieve peace, disarmament and some form of coexistence acceptable for all.

I think that we Cubans living in a most backward part of this world, should look to the future through the prism of underdevelopment.

The US dollar is falling, exchange indices in New York and Tokyo are going down, capitalism is not furthering development, and unemployment is growing at an alarming rate. All this is of course a part of the reality of the present-day world; but at the same time, to prevent the crisis from turning into a catastrophe, imperialists are holding our nations of the South in reserve. Through an unequal trade exchange they receive cheap raw materials; they are plundering us financially through the debt, the appearance

and growth of which was encouraged by their international financial centres; they are using our countries as markets for selling surplus products and as sources of cheap labour, which they either use themselves or send back to underdeveloped countries, depending on the state of their economies.

In his impressive speech at the festive meeting, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking of the possibility of long-term coexistence in the world, posed—among other questions that we are unable to discuss here, because of the time limit,—the following question: "Can the capitalist system abandon its neo-colonialist policy?" The answer to this question will show us whether we will be able to preserve peace, and, simultaneously, eradicate the striking inequality in our world. This inequality must be eliminated, or else our planet Earth is going to witness more social calamities and retaliatory actions, as a result of which the forgotten and exploited people in the neo-colonial countries will, with their own forces and, if necessary, with the support of other nations—lay a road for themselves into the future, despite all the obstacles.

For many years our nation has been contemplating the first of the alternatives, and has put forward corresponding proposals. In 1979, speaking on behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement at the UN General Assembly session, I had the opportunity to present a programme of struggle aimed at solving this question in the interests of peoples of the world. At subsequent forums we continued to advance that programme. However, at present the situation has grown worse—the debt has increased several times. Because of the price differences unfavourable for us, over the past decade we have lost hundreds of billions of dollars, and this continues to happen now; and yet, in principle, our programme remains in force.

As part of our struggle for a lasting peace we should work to protect the New International Economic Order. Perhaps, neo-colonialists are as yet unable to realize that; but if the fundamentals of neo-colonialism were altered, if the economic exploitation of nations in Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Caribbean came to an end, the increased purchasing power of the population of these three continents would give capitalism an opportunity to prolong its existence for a longer term in conditions that would, perhaps, be less privileged for it, yet, at the same time, less unstable.

But, if they are unable to realize that right away, we, all those who have gathered here, should continue our struggle. We, despite our obvious differences, represent powerful forces capable of joint action. We all want genuine peace without poverty or backwardness; we are all against apartheid and oppose aggression against sovereign states; we are all trying to change the existing world, to make it better and more humane; we can all work together.

We representatives of the Third World who defend its interests in the

Non-Aligned Movement and in the Group of 77 are not alone; we can count on the support of the socialist countries—Mikhail Gorbachev's words in his report to the festive meeting testify to this. Every day our nations understand better and better that in the struggle against the unfair international economic order which is based on a non-equivalent trade exchange, they cannot be just passive on-lookers. They should take a conscientious and resolute part in this struggle.

There are also other, non-socialist, countries that were never colonies in the past which can support us. The presence among us of activists from European social-democratic parties, labour activists representing various organizations, delegates from Japan, whose position differs from that of their government, the presence of those who have opposed in the United States with commendable courage the irresponsible policy of the current US Administration, which is already failing, and have stressed the need for understanding and greater justice in relations with other nations, allows us to believe that we can all work together. We, defenders of socialism as mankind's future, must take part in this battle, which is not yet a direct battle for socialism, but a battle for a better world, free from poverty and oppression, a battle involving hundreds of millions of people who will either convince neo-colonialists that changes are imperative or will defeat their policy through the struggle of the peoples of the world.

It is here, and nowhere else, that the dilemma is rooted, if we look at it from the position of our Third World countries. We all represent part of the world forces determined to work for peace and a better life for all people. To gather here and discuss how we can come together and unite in this revolutionary task—this is the best way to pay our tribute to those who, led by Vladimir Lenin, proclaimed the very same principles in Petrograd 70 years ago.

We have no doubt that the day will come when history will mark October 1987 as the time when the process of the elimination of nuclear weapons was started, when a period of hope and peace perhaps began for mankind which lived and continues to live under the threat of self-annihilation and in shameful poverty which in the Third World is killing as many children as a hundred nuclear bombs could.

For this hope for peace and development, for everything the Soviet Union has accomplished to achieve these noble goals, we express to you, Comrade Gorbachev, to your party and your nation, our deep gratitude.

Co-Chairwoman of the Federal Board of the Green Party of the Federal Republic of Germany

Jutta DITFURTH

The Green Party from Federal Germany was extremely interested in accepting the invitation to take part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Russia; we consider this event one of the highlights of world history.

We were glad to see at this international meeting so many political friends: from Nicaragua, Cuba, El Salvador, the Palestine Liberation Organization, the African National Congress and from many other liberation movements as well.

The Green Party believes that nuclear disarmament is at least partially possible now, not thanks to the policy of NATO or the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, but thanks to the Soviet policy of "new thinking" and the peace movement in the West. Disarmament depends on their political pressure. If the Soviet Union behaved the same way as NATO, we would have long ago been drawn into another Cold War. I do not want to repeat everything that has already been said here. I want to use my time for expressing what has not been said.

Along with the positive negotiations going on to strengthen peace in Europe we are witnessing a new, terrifying development—the "European Nuclear Forces". In the 50's the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Italy agreed to cooperate in the field of nuclear weapons, and that cooperation is already producing results—nuclear bombs.

Since 1981 the Superphénix fast reactor in the French town of Malville has been used to produce a certain amount of high-quality plutonium for use in nuclear devices. The French government admits that Superphénix is a component part of its programmes to develop nuclear weapons. The Federal Republic of Germany is exporting to France plutonium that has been obtained at its nuclear power plants and that can be used for military purposes and takes part in other ways in the military nuclear research of that country.

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, signed in 1968 by the Federal Republic of Germany, among others, has as many holes as a fishing net, and opens up vast opportunities for a so-called "European variant". The new military force has many different names. Reactionary forces, for example, the Christian Democratic Union and the Christian-Social Union, have been openly calling them "European Nuclear Forces", while Social-Democrats in West Germany want to play it down, manipulating with phrases such as the "self-establishment of Europe against military blocs", or the "creation of an equal West European base within NATO", etc.

An urgent issue for us is the involvement of certain West European left

forces, in France, for example, in the national concord regarding strike nuclear forces and nuclear military thinking. In our efforts to convince the masses and in our disputes with the Social-Democrats, we need our many friends in other countries to support us and use their influence in our favour.

The major problem of the so-called "Europeanization" lies in the alarming unity between conservative groups and some parties in the Socialist International, in particular, those from the Federal Republic of Germany, France and Spain.

Instead of strengthening NATO the Federal Republic of Germany should withdraw from that aggressive military alliance which is responsible for countless problems throughout the world. Large-scale joint German-French manoeuvres are already being held, manoeuvres involving hundreds of tanks, and anti-tank helicopters, as well as 20,000 troops from the French Rapid Deployment Force.

This military alliance between Germany and France simplifies the task of the US, strengthens NATO, aggravates the hostility between East and West, and puts up huge barriers to disarmament. There is a threat that groups holding key economic and political positions and posing a threat to the Soviet Union and its allies in the so-called Third World countries will be formed in Europe.

West German territory was used to support the United States during its aggression against Libya, and now West German troops are about to replace NATO forces in the Persian Gulf region. At the same time as all of this is going on, political forces in the Federal Republic of Germany are trying to create an atmosphere in the country which would not be conducive to the extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, which expires in 1995. At least five very influential opponents to that Treaty are currently ministers in the Federal government.

Over 30 nuclear facilities in the Federal Republic of Germany could be used to build a West German nuclear bomb. This can be done, in particular, at the facilities in Hanau, Karlsruhe, Sülich, and in Wackersdorf—as soon as the dressing facility is completed there—and at other facilities as well. But so far, the "German nuclear bomb" serves as a means of pressuring France into letting West Germany have a share in the control over French nuclear weapons.

Representatives of all the left forces in Europe, Socialists, Communists and others, regardless of their ideological differences, should finally realize that the idea promoted over many years of dividing the use of atomic energy into two categories—peaceful and military—was nothing but a technical and political self-deception. Anyone possessing all the elements of a so-called peaceful nuclear infrastructure is capable of manufacturing

bombs; whether they are primitive or sophisticated bombs depends only on the technological potential.

Indeed, any conventional nuclear reactor of a new type, say, a 1,300-mW reactor, is capable of producing annually the amount of material needed to make 40 nuclear bombs.

Meanwhile, even if accidents and catastrophes like the one at Chernobyl don't occur, that is, even if nuclear facilities are operating absolutely flawlessly, they are releasing a considerable amount of radioactive isotopes. The consequences of this are cancer, immune deficiency and damage to the plant world.

We in the Green Party are very much concerned about the world's technological development. The technologies that for decades capitalists were passing off as signs of progress, technologies which pose a danger to man and the environment—and we have been explaining this all these years—show up in other countries of the world in the form of bad copies. Sometimes the reaction to our criticism is disbelief—as if in a fit of neo-imperialism we were trying to prevent the developing countries from introducing allegedly advanced technologies. We understand the aspirations of many developing countries, but we believe we do not need nuclear power; we think it represents a danger to life, that is a process that will never be totally under control as long as people make mistakes, and people will always make mistakes. We believe it could have been replaced by power of another type long ago. As for the public expenditures, and not only those that go for maintenance, nuclear power costs people too dearly.

Many people still regard new, pioneering techniques involving the application of solar, wind, and water energy as too exotic. At present there is a real danger that the energy concerns in capitalist countries will start applying such techniques in a capitalist way, before this is realized in the countries which are developing such techniques and which are capable of making them serve the people in the framework of non-capitalist production. Plans of this kind are already lying in the desks of gentlemen from these concerns.

All left forces should, therefore, consider the ecological problem a vital one, and by no means as an attempt to introduce minor innovations into a production process which remains basically the same. It is often amazing to watch how some dialectitians in the field of ecology think in a purely mechanical way: this is the environment, and this is a smokestack—consequently, we have to install a filter into it. No one thinks, however, about how to dispose of that filter, with all the toxic agents it contains, about what to do with the products of combustion or slag.

I would like to recall the words of Marx, who said that capitalism is destroying both workers and the Earth. Progressive, socialist, and communist forces should not do the same. Any production technique harmful

to the environment should be abandoned because of the damage it inflicts on all of us: soil erosion, famine, the appearance of new diseases—including cancer, cellular changes, immune deficiency. All this is part of the ecological time bomb, that exists along with the nuclear threat. Ecological considerations should underlie social reforms. It is all very simple: he who cannot breathe will never have sufficient air for a "second wind". In other words, he will not be sufficiently strong for the political struggle for peace, for democratic and social rights of the individual, for a fair economic order in the world, for the struggle against capitalism and fascism. The ecological revolution is inseparably linked with the social revolution.

The Green Party from the Federal Republic of Germany is inviting all progressive forces to take part in the international conference which will be held in September 1988 to counter the international conference to be held by the Internationaler Weltwirtschaftsfonds (World Economic Fund). We are preparing our conference jointly with other left forces. A central subject for discussion at the conference will be the elimination of the foreign debt of developing countries. We support the idea expressed at this meeting by Fidel Castro to eliminate the debt of the developing countries. We have to put an end to the plundering and predatory approach to their natural resources on the part of the capitalist countries. The Latin American, Asian and African nations need the values created by their citizens to satisfy their own requirements, improve health care and education, solve ecological problems, develop their national economies that would not depend on the imperialist interests of the United States and their allies.

And in conclusion:

Someone asked me how I pictured the celebrations of the 80th anniversary of the October Revolution. I'm an optimist. I believe that the ecological problem, in all its complexity, will remain a central issue along with the problem of safeguarding peace. Secondly, I hope that the speeches will be followed by open and constructive debates, and today's meeting has laid a good basis for that. And I want to hope that every second participant in that future conference will be a woman. Not because women are better—I'm against statements like that, and regard them as reactionary—but because that would reflect the reality of our time.

Chairman of the MPLA-Party of Labour, Angola

José Eduardo dos SANTOS

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,
Comrades Members of the Presidium,
Esteemed guests,
Comrades,

I would like to thank you for the opportunity accorded to me to speak at one more function dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

This informal meeting is in effect an exchange of views, of perennial significance, between representatives of diverse socio-political forces and organizations which are fighting for the cause of disarmament, world peace, freedom of the peoples, social justice and mankind's progress.

The significance of the activity of the Party of Lenin, and of the heartland of the Great October Revolution, is not limited to the successes scored in the space of all these years in the socio-economic, scientific, technological and cultural fields that have transformed the once-backward Russia into a modern, prosperous and highly developed power. This significance also lies in the Soviet Union's example and its concrete initiatives in the name of peace and for the sake of rallying all people in the struggle for a better and secure world without wars, without oppression and exploitation, in which solidarity, peace, friendship and cooperation on the basis of mutual respect and equality would be the connecting links of an international peoples' alliance.

We hail this meeting and, first of all, we would like to congratulate Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, and the CPSU leadership, on the highly instructive report presented at the festive meeting in honour of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution. In our view, this report contains profound reflections on the topical questions of socialist construction in the USSR and in other parts of the planet, on the modern crisis of the capitalist system, on international relations in the nuclear epoch, and on the struggle of peoples for their independence, freedom, full democracy and peaceful coexistence between states.

Accept my gratitude for furnishing all those who in the Soviet Union and the world over fight for social progress, socialism and peace with such valuable theoretical conclusions and practical examples.

Further, I would like to stress that the question of the struggle for peace is a categorical imperative in our days. For this reason it mobilizes all of the international public, inasmuch as for all people, irrespective of their

political views and ideologies, or colour of skin, the main thing is their right to life and the continuation of the human race.

In our view, in order to ensure universal peace and security it is necessary to stop forthwith all wars, aggressions and threats of aggression and to respect the principle of resolving international conflicts and disputes by peaceful means. On this plane, the main question is how to raise the effectiveness of the Security Council and the UN as a whole in carrying out these tasks in order to make a start on the establishment of a system of international security that would prohibit the imperialist powers and all states in general from using force at their whim, for either intimidating, or thrusting their will, on countries which are weaker militarily.

The reduction of all types of armaments, beginning with nuclear weapons, and peaceful uses of outer space, are a highly essential step in this direction which, apparently, will require a certain period for being implemented, a step which we support resolutely.

The cause of the peoples' moral and material development will gain greatly if we secure a significant reduction in the outlays for the production of nuclear weapons and other mass destruction weapons awaiting their employment in a third world war. It will gain above all because these weapons will never be employed since their production will cease, and the threat of destruction of life on Earth will no longer hang over the world. We stand not only for a reduction but also for a total destruction of new weapons, and a simultaneous prohibition of their production.

This cause would gain, second, because the fabulous resources released thereby, could be used to render aid in order to eliminate, as soon as possible, hunger, poverty, disease and other calamities now afflicting thousands of people living in Africa, Asia and Latin America. In this connection, we appeal to the nuclear powers to allocate a certain proportion of the resources saved due to a stoppage of the production of nuclear weapons and conventional armaments, and due to their elimination, for the struggle against hunger, poverty and epidemic diseases and in defence of all children in the world.

For the developing countries, general and complete disarmament is necessary also in order to survive as free and independent nations.

The unrestrained arms race in the past forty years has in fact been furnishing imperialism with a pretext for strengthening its rule, for blackmailing peoples and countries striving to free themselves from its pernicious influence. On the other hand, demand for ever new resources makes it step up the exploitation of the working people and intensify the plunder of the wealth of the countries of the so-called Third World.

In many of these countries the winning of political independence has not led, paradoxically as this would seem, to an improvement in the population's living conditions. The imposition on them by monopoly capitalism

and finance capital of an unjust order of things and the practice of inequitable trade in economic relations with the more advanced Western countries have resulted in a growing external debt and a new form of dependence.

The problem of external debt for any developing country is insoluble today. Virtually no country can repay it, and in many cases the total debt is so large that it blocks up a country's socio-economic development. Thus, external debt has turned into a special weapon, created by capitalism, for the exploitation of the developing countries and leading to a further exacerbation of the internal social contradictions, and socio-economic and other problems which sometimes threaten the political regimes existing there. Being an acute economic and political problem, it, naturally, requires, first, political, and second, economic solutions for which we should pool our efforts.

External debts and involvement in "regional conflicts", also fomented by imperialism, reduce many of these states to a condition of chronic instability and dependence, or to a high vulnerability. The African countries of socialist orientation are not an exception to this rule.

Practice shows that, because of this instability and vulnerability, leading cadres have been lost in quite a few instances; there have been cases of departure from the cause of revolution due to an erroneous assessment of a concrete internal historical situation and the international political situation. In our view, the socialist countries would do well to improve the mechanisms of cooperation with the developing countries, with the object of its intensification, so as to be able to compete with the West on an equal footing or to offer more favourable terms, than it (the West) does, in the financial and economic fields in order to turn this important sphere of life into a front of the struggle that would be as decisive as the political, ideological or military fronts.

In our view, not a single progressive people's democratic or socialist state will be able to win victories and strengthen itself unless it resolves its socio-economic problems. Attempts to resolve them at the present time, when the economic links inherited by these countries from capitalism and imperialism are still strong, and without the support and participation of the socialist community, would be a utopia.

Further, I would like to draw the attention of all the participants to the fact that Angola is situated in an area which is a seat of the highest tensions, where it continuously encounters aggressive and destabilizing actions by the racialist regime of South Africa.

The same forces which before our independence were objective accomplices of the colonial power, have now ganged up in one of the grimmest alliances against the Angolan people in order to try and wipe out our gains and undermine the MPLA-Party of Labour.

Just as in 1975, when two foreign armies invaded Angola and when several plots were staged with the employment of puppet forces and mercenaries in the service of imperialism and apartheid, so also today a military threat overhangs us in the country's South and North where UNITA armed gangs infiltrate our land from abroad.

The racist regime of South Africa supported by the US administration and other allies has transferred, earlier this year, large supplies of weaponry and many troops for the support of UNITA with the aim of preventing its total rout. Employed in fighting were G-5 and G-6 guns with a range of 40-50 kilometres, rocket artillery, armour, modern gunships and warplanes. Thanks to the adequate provision of our combat units with military hardware, which were also equipped with anti-aircraft weapons and facilities, 35-plus enemy planes and helicopters were shot down; a lot of enemy equipment was captured; besides, the enemy sustained manpower losses. Nevertheless, troops of racist South Africa continue the occupation of part of Angolan territory along the border with Namibia.

So long as the apartheid system endures, instability will persist, and wars in the south of Africa will continue because of the inhuman and aggressive essence of that regime. Only the eradication of apartheid as a socio-political system which breeds the regional conflict in the south of Africa will effectively and tangibly create an atmosphere of peace and harmony indispensable to progress and development of all peoples in the region.

The search for political solutions through negotiations between the government of South Africa and the patriotic organizations acting together with the ANC, the main force fighting to destroy apartheid and establish democracy in all of southern Africa, is absolutely imperative and meets the interests of all concerned.

It is precisely with this end in view, that the frontline states have resolved to pool their efforts to have the world community exert pressure on Pretoria, so as to hasten the collapse of that system and the accordance of independence to Namibia on the basis of the corresponding UN resolutions and so as to assure respect for the territorial integrity and independence of the countries of the region.

The white minority of racist South Africa, worried over its future, has decided to arm itself to the teeth in order to thrust its will by force of arms and bayonets, through cruel and gory repressions inside the country and through the practice of state terrorism against the neighbouring countries, confident that in this way it can assure its security. It does not intend to tackle the real cause of instability and lack of security which is apartheid itself based as it is on race discrimination and social injustice.

Internal social contradictions and tensions have now reached fever pitch and flashpoint, with unpredictable consequences. The resistance and

struggle of the masses have been mounting in step with the intensification of repression.

The replenishment of the ranks of the democratic and patriotic organizations with representatives of the white population is to us the main indicator of the fact that it is possible to establish in South Africa a multi-racial democratic regime in which the political will of the Black majority would predominate. To this end, it is necessary to exert great pressure on Pieter Botha's regime so it would make the historic step essential to negotiations on the future of South Africa with representatives of the fighting patriotic organizations.

The political, trade-union and other forms of the patriots' struggle inside the country are a potent instrument of pressure. Even so, the international community and particularly progressive forces should also step up their pressure.

Inasmuch as there does not exist direct colonialism and neither is there an administrative authority a question can arise some day: will the state's army and other repressive forces be disbanded, or in what way will the security and protection of citizens be assured so they could freely express themselves on South Africa's democratic future?

We are also concerned over the state of affairs in the frontline states and query whether it is possible to block the policy of permanent destabilization and pressure being pursued by South Africa vis-à-vis the frontline states either through the conclusion of an international agreement or by other effective means.

Flexibility and constructiveness are intrinsic to the policy of the leadership of the MPLA-Party of Labour and the Angolan government in a situation punctuated by conflicts devastating the south of Africa. They testify that we pursue a clear policy of peace with a view to seeking out just solutions through negotiations in accord with the aspirations of the international community and the peoples' fundamental rights.

We resolutely come out for an immediate accordance of independence to Namibia on the strength of Resolution 435/78 of the UN Security Council, for an immediate and unconditional withdrawal of South African troops from the territory of Angola, for a stop to all acts of aggression against our country and we come out against any aid to UNITA by the racist regime of South Africa and its allies.

We are ready to conduct negotiations on the conclusion of a comprehensive agreement with all interested parties, recognized by the world public, an agreement which would serve the above aims and would also meet the interests of our opponents on condition that the sovereign right of the peoples and states concerned is honoured and a just and durable peace for Angola is ensured.

But our readiness for dialogue does not extend to the puppets from

UNITA who are in the pay of the racist regime of South Africa. There are neither causes nor a topic for political discussion that would warrant talks with this grouping which South Africa uses merely as an instrument for the destabilization of the People's Republic of Angola.

Let a stop be put to any interference from the outside, and the Angolan government, in the spirit of its policy of peace and national harmony, will grant the right to become a member of the new society to all Angolans who have broken away from the wardship of South Africa and its allies and who wish to honestly and peacefully make their contribution to the cause of strengthening national unity and the country's socio-economic transformation.

And, finally, I would like to touch upon an idea expressed in Comrade Gorbachev's brilliant report in this hall; he said that he is taking actions to deprive the West of the argument that the Soviet Union, allegedly, holds a danger to peoples.

Indeed, the presence of the Cuban internationalists in Angola and our cooperation with the Soviet Union are used by racialist South Africa and its bombastic propaganda as a supposed danger to the peoples of the region, and on this basis, both the government of Pretoria and its puppets from UNITA mobilize people for the struggle against the so-called Russo-Cuban threat.

We shall support, in as far as possible, all actions aimed at the restoration of the truth and contributing to the triumph of the noble cause of peace, freedom and national independence and social progress in the south of Africa.

Lying propaganda, and the intrigues of imperialism and its accomplices, cannot shake the inviolable friendship and solidarity between Angola and Cuba, neither will they destroy the strong ties of friendship and cooperation between Angola and the Soviet Union.

Without the aid of the Soviet Union and Cuba, the Angolan people would have been unable to endure the 26 years of the war and thwart the sinister designs of colonialism, racialist South Africa and imperialism.

I am closing my speech with words of sincere gratitude from the Angolan people to the Soviet Union and Cuba and also to all forces in the world supporting our just struggle.

General Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party

Alvaro CUNHAL

Comrades, friends,

This major meeting of representatives of political forces and peoples of all continents, here in the Soviet Union, in the days of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution, is in itself a recognition of the realities characterizing our epoch.

The meeting testifies to the recognition of the historic significance of not only the revolutionary act that brought working people to the winning of power and the formation of the world's first state of workers and peasants but also of the building of new society in which an end was put to the exploitation of man by man.

The meeting also signifies the recognition of the international impact of the October Revolution and the building of new society. The October Revolution has become the determining factor and a motive force of world development marked over the past 70 years by new victorious socialist revolutions and the liberation of a significant part of mankind from centuries-long colonial oppression and by successes in the struggle for freedom and social progress.

No matter how hard the ideologists of capitalism would try to exonerate the capitalist system and discredit socialism, no matter how stridently they rant about an "irreversible decline" of the communist movement, the truth is that the seventy years that have elapsed since the October Revolution, and the present-day world situation, confirm precisely the irreversible decline of capitalism and the development of the liberation struggle of the working people and nations, although this process goes on extremely unevenly and falteringly.

The history of the past seventy years and an analysis of the contemporary situation show that the future of socialism is not "decline" or "retreat" but headway.

This assessment of the modern epoch and the direction of social development is in our view of paramount importance for opening up before peoples a perspective that would be consonant with their innermost aspirations.

To wage a struggle for national and social liberation is a sacred right of the working people and nations. And no matter how hard imperialist propaganda tries to undermine their faith in the morrow we are deeply convinced that the new democratic, national-liberation and socialist revolutions will become the guide-posts in the history of the next few decades.

Before the Portuguese democratic revolution of April, 1974 not many people believed that the Portuguese people would have the revolutionary

strength to overthrow the fascist dictatorship and to accomplish this before important political events take place in other countries. However, in the course of the April revolution the Portuguese people smashed up the fascist dictatorship, put an end to colonial wars, recognized the right of the peoples of the then Portuguese colonies to a full and immediate independence, assured the freedoms and rights of citizens, liquidated the monopolies, latifundia and state monopoly capitalism and established an advanced political democracy.

Ever since 1976, the governments, succeeding one another, have been carrying on a counter-revolutionary process in a bid to wipe out the democratic gains of the Portuguese people. But the Portuguese people are fighting on and are confident that they will succeed in safeguarding the democratic system created by the April revolution. Fighting to defend and strengthen the democratic system, we Portuguese Communists have always followed our lodestar—the building of socialist society in Portugal, and it is precisely this goal and this perspective that characterize us as Communists.

In this day and age, of all the transformations of human society in which we take part the most inspiring one, deeply affecting the world, is the building of new society in which, for the first time in the history of mankind, the development of productive forces and scientific, technological and cultural progress serve not the selfish interests of the exploiter class who own the means of production but the liberation and well-being of man.

What we aim at is the implementation of a political and social project, the most daring and most complicated in mankind's entire history. What is on target is not only a change in various structures of state and society but also the transformation of life and, simultaneously, the transformation of man.

A giant achievement by whole generations, an achievement which in every country where it is carried out involves the overcoming of survivals and traditions that have outlived themselves, of difficulties and obstacles, of internal and external resistance and sometimes of crises, drawbacks and mistakes requiring a rectification, and new solutions. But the main thing, of historic significance not only to the particular peoples but also to world development, is the experience and lessons, and the great accomplishments and transformations carried out in the construction of socialism which, differences and variations notwithstanding, give a new impetus to the process of mankind's liberation.

The deep-going economic, social and political perestroika in the Soviet Union is based on the achievements of the seventy years of Soviet government and it confirms the possibilities of socialism and the motive force of the October Revolution.

The further spread of the process of social transformations to all continents and countries with widely different levels of economic and social development and diverse objective and subjective conditions inevitably presupposes a diversity of forms with definite specifics and distinctions. This indicates that a revolution cannot be copied and that important social transformations require of the leading political forces an analysis of international experience, on the one hand, and a creative search for solutions corresponding to reality, on the other.

In this universal and complicated process there arise new forces leading liberation struggles in their countries. But in the contemporary world all genuinely-democratic and national-liberation revolutions enter upon the path of socialism, in step with their development.

This state of things, in our view, confronts the Communist and Workers' parties with the need, on the one hand, to strengthen cooperation among themselves, and their unity and mutual solidarity, and, on the other hand, to thoroughly analyze the present state of the communist movement, and what its bounds and components are, and, finally, to promote dialogue, cooperation and mutual solidarity between the Communists and all forces of democracy, national independence, social progress and socialism.

The world in which we live is an intricate tangle of class contradictions and processes of transformation and struggle, intertwining among themselves and often confronting one another.

The contemporary world shares a common reality but every country lives in conditions of its own reality. It is impossible to transpose onto a world scale the systems of alliances existing in a particular country, nor is it possible to transpose to every particular country alliances which apply on an international scale.

But it is true, and international experience bears this out daily, that it is both necessary and possible, to find common goals, prerequisites, for joint actions and for solidarity between the forces of democracy, social progress, national independence and socialism.

Besides, there is the paramount cause today which requires a convergence and concerted actions by all peoples and countries. This cause is the need to ensure the survival of the human race itself, the defence of peace, the struggle to avert nuclear catastrophe.

In this connection, of special importance is, also, the holding of this meeting in the Soviet Union, whose peace initiatives and proposals—constructive and realistic—not only reaffirm the peaceful nature of the socialist system, and the determining and fundamental role of the USSR in the struggle for peace, but also create, already now, a strong foundation for the reduction, limitation and elimination of nuclear weapons. We would like to express the hope here that the agreement on the eli-

mination of medium- and shorter-range missiles will be signed. This will mark an important step towards detente in international relations, towards a halt to the arms race and a successful continuation of the struggle for peace.

It is significant that representatives of such diverse political and social forces, that have arrived here from all continents, speak about all this here, in the Land of Soviets, during the celebration of the glorious October Socialist Revolution.

This is because peace accords with the vital interests of social development and the humanistic ideal of socialist society. This is because the defence of peace has become the cause of mankind as a whole.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam

Nguyen VAN LINH

Esteemed General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev,
Esteemed leaders of parties and progressive organizations,

We fully approve the analysis of the trends of world development made by Comrade Gorbachev and also his proposals concerning the ways of solving pressing tasks facing mankind. The twentieth century has witnessed two world wars. Over the past forty years the world has lived under the constant shadow of the threat of a nuclear catastrophe. But there has now emerged a real possibility for eliminating nuclear weapons and preserving peace on earth.

We wholeheartedly support all the proposals and efforts of the USSR towards the creation of a comprehensive system of international security. This should be accompanied by the establishment of a new international economic order. Along with the system of security and cooperation in Europe, the creation of a similar system in the Asia-Pacific region would be very significant for a comprehensive system of international security. The largest and most populous region in the world, the Asia-Pacific region, has been subjected to ruthless exploitation by the forces of colonialism and imperialism for many centuries. It is this very region that was the victim of US atomic bombings. For over forty years now protracted local wars have been raging in Asia, with the US war against Vietnam being the most ferocious of them all. The struggles of the peoples of Asia have resulted in cardinal changes in favour of the forces of peace, national independence and socialism. After suffering defeats in local wars and in their attempts to preserve the military blocs CENTO and SEATO, the forces of imperialism began employing a new strategy in the Asia-Pacific region. To this end, they have been using the most reactionary forces in their struggle against socialism, national independence, democracy and peace and have been escalating tensions in the region with the object of protecting their own interests. The struggle lying ahead will be severe and complicated. On the other hand, after forty years of grim struggle a possibility of consolidating widely diverse forces in the Asia-Pacific region and of creating an all-regional system of security and cooperation has emerged. Ever since the 1970s the Soviet Union, jointly with the peaceful and revolutionary forces of the Asian continent, has been stepping up its efforts in the struggle against imperialism and reaction in the region. The victorious revolutions in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea, and also the US defeat in Indochina have led to the emergence of a new situation in Southeast Asia. After forty years of long-drawn-out wars the peoples of Asia and the Pacific region

want to live in peace and be able to work for the economic development of their countries. The tendencies towards peaceful coexistence and the peaceful settlement of regional conflicts have increasingly been gaining the upper hand over the tendencies towards confrontation and escalation of tensions.

The peoples of the Asia-Pacific region responded very positively to the now well-known speech given by Mikhail Gorbachev in Vladivostok. A stable peace there can only be secured through the concerted efforts of all countries and peoples of the region. Vietnam highly values and fully supports the Delhi Declaration on Principles for a Nuclear-Weapon Free and Non-Violent World. We also support the constructive peace initiatives of the Mongolian People's Republic, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and welcome the creation of nuclear-free zones in the southern part of the Pacific Ocean and in Southeast Asia, as well as the strenuous efforts being made by India and Indonesia towards the further development of dialogue in the region. Vietnam fully supports the indefatigable activities of the fraternal parties, progressive peace-loving forces, and social organizations and movements towards the forging of a broad front in the struggle for peace, international security, development and cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. The above efforts are in themselves a positive contribution to the cause of peace in the region.

Over the past forty years, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have gone through three wars, the major one being the war unleashed by the USA. After the defeat of the United States, the peoples of Indochina gained the possibility of living in peace while the countries of Southeast Asia could peacefully coexist with one another. But the peoples of the countries of this region were again forced to counter the policy of interference, diktat and threats pursued by imperialism and reaction. As a result of an arduous struggle and indefatigable tireless efforts by the countries of Indochina, the USSR and all peace-loving forces, a possibility has emerged for resolving the eight-year-long deadlock, for the holding of peace negotiations in order to settle the Kampuchean question and secure peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

Coordinating their activity with those of the peoples of other countries fighting for peace and development in the Asia-Pacific region and the world over, Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea have been continuously working for an early peaceful settlement of the Kampuchean question on the basis of assuring the country's independence and sovereignty and securing peace and stability in Southeast Asia and in the Asia-Pacific region. We fully support the course for national reconciliation put forward by the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on August 27, 1987, and

the five-point Statement, issued on October 8, 1987, on a peaceful settlement of the conflict situation in the People's Republic of Kampuchea.

The improvement of Soviet-Chinese relations does much to reduce tensions in the Asia-Pacific region. From the same positions, Vietnam has been striving to normalize relations with the People's Republic of China for the sake of the long-term interests of the two countries and in support of peace, national independence and socialism in the Asia-Pacific region and throughout the world.

We pledge our solidarity with the forces of peace and progress in other regions of the globe. We also support the struggles for peace and against imperialism, zionism and apartheid of the peoples of Nicaragua, Salvador, Panama, Chile, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, South Africa, the countries of the Middle and Near East, and of the Persian Gulf.

Allow me to take this opportunity to express our heartfelt gratitude to the CPSU and other fraternal parties, and to all forces of peace and progress in the world that have rendered, and continue to render immense aid and support to the people of Vietnam in the spirit of class solidarity and lofty internationalism.

We are confident that this historic meeting will give a fresh impetus to the struggle for the common ideals of peace and progress throughout the world.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Israel

Meir VILNER

Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me first on behalf of our delegation to express our gratitude to our Soviet friends for their initiative to summon this representative gathering with the participation of such a large spectrum of ideological trends.

The perestroika, the glasnost, the democratisation in the Soviet Union have already started shaking the world. Even in Israel the effect of the anti-Soviet propaganda conducted 25 hours per day is diminishing. The attractiveness of socialism, of the Soviet Union, is increasing all over the world. This is a tremendous contribution by the CPSU to world peace as well as to the revolutionary process.

Our contemporary world is characterised, on the one hand, by the existence of a common interest of preserving world peace. On the other hand, contradicting interests exist between the exploited and the exploiters, between the peoples struggling for their national liberation and their oppressors, between the peoples and the fascist and racist dictatorships. And, last but not least, there are conflicting interests between capitalism and socialism. These conflicting interests will continue to exist. So will the struggles deriving from these contradictions.

Every success of the struggle for national liberation, democracy, social progress and socialism contributes to the struggle for peace. And, vice versa, every success of the struggle for ensuring peace is contributing to all other struggles. We face here a dialectical unity.

But the crucial problem of our time is to ensure peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems to prevent the greatest danger to all the classes, to all the peoples, to all humanity—the danger of total annihilation.

Hence the need, the imperative of new thinking. This is not only an objective necessity. It is an urgent imperative. There is a danger that the arms race will go out of control.

American imperialism has not stopped striving for military supremacy. It continues to act for the sake of tremendous profits for the military-industrial complex. Imperialism has not changed its nature. That's why it is so important and fateful to persist, intensify the struggle for the survival of mankind and for united action of all peace forces in every country and internationally.

The expected signing of the agreement for the destruction of medium- and short-range missiles and the prospects of new, more important, agreements for disarmament is proof that the struggle for disarmament and peace can win.

To our regret, I can't say that the Israeli ruling circles are very concerned or conscious of the danger to the very existence of mankind. We are doing our best to raise the understanding of the gravity of this crucial problem.

The Israeli Zionist ruling circles, notwithstanding the certain differences between them, are far from new thinking. Their way of thinking is similar to that of the old colonialist thinking of the 19th century. They can behave so due to the military, financial and political assistance of the USA. Israel has concluded a strategic alliance with American imperialism and even joined the USA Star Wars plan. All this is absolutely contrary to the true interests of the Israeli people. The huge military expenditures affected badly the interests of the working people, deteriorated the health and education services.

In order to achieve peace Israel has to retreat from all the Palestinian, Syrian and Lebanese territories occupied since 1967; an independent Palestinian state should be established alongside Israel. Security can be ensured only by establishing peace.

We are struggling for the liquidation of the Middle East hotbed of war which endangers world peace, for the establishment of a comprehensive, just and stable peace in our region.

In the present international and regional conditions such a peace can be achieved only by common efforts, in the framework of an international conference under the auspices of the United Nations with the participation of all parties concerned, including Israel and the Palestinian Arab people, whose only legitimate representative is the PLO, as well as the five permanent members of the Security Council.

We are struggling for respect of human rights. Indeed, this is one of our basic principles as Communists. Those in Israel speaking very loudly about human rights cruelly oppress the Palestinian people in the occupied territories and have closest relations with the South-African racist regime.

No human rights exist in the occupied territories, but there are shootings of innocent people and demonstrators, collective punishment, tortures, robbing of Palestinian land and destroying houses. In Lebanon Palestinian refugee camps and villages are bombed by the Israeli aviation killing many civilians, women, children and men. We are struggling against all these and organising the broadest possible front.

I would like to point out that the opposition to the government's policy is growing. Many of the political positions of our party are now also shared by other political circles and are supported by public opinion. Some Zionist circles are beginning to understand the danger to Israel itself from the continuation of the policy of occupation and expansion.

On the other hand, the extremists are also gaining strength. The polarisation of Israeli society is increasing.

In conclusion I would like to say that it is not accidental that the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are the most devoted to the cause of peace. This derives from the humanistic communist ideology based on the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. The revolutionary changes in the Soviet Union are an expression of the vitality of our communist movement which proves that it represents in practice the socialist alternative to capitalism, which gives birth to wars. In conditions of peace all peoples will choose earlier or later the road to socialism, which means peace and prosperity for the whole of society.

Chairman of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland

Pertti PAASIO

Comrade General Secretary, dear comrades,

On behalf of the Social-Democratic Party of Finland I want to convey heartfelt congratulations to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and, through it, to the entire Soviet people on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. That revolution is one of the most momentous events in world history. It showed conclusively the role and strength of the people, who united to fight against exploitation, for the building of a new society.

We, the Finns, have a purely national reason for commemorating the October Revolution: it created the final prerequisites for the secession of Finland from Russia and for the formation of an independent national state. For a long time the Finnish people had been fighting against the yoke of tsarism, creating the prerequisites for the achievement of independence. At the beginning of the century the decisive force in that struggle was the Finnish working-class movement, which, though still young, was already organized and quickly gaining strength.

The October Revolution made it possible to carry the struggle for independence through to a victorious end. The Parliament of Finland proclaimed the country independent on December 6, 1917. The young Soviet government headed by Lenin recognized the independence of Finland, which was sealed by his signature. His signature paved the way for the broad international recognition of independent Finland.

The October Revoution and the achievement of independence by Finland are two different events; nevertheless, besides proximity in time, there is an obvious historical connection between them. So it is quite natural that the peoples of Finland and the Soviet Union and their representatives should together remember and analyse the events of seventy years ago.

The essence of Finland's foreign policy is this: basing itself on the peaceable policy of neutrality, Finland maintains and develops relations with all the world's nations, particularly with neighbouring countries. The foundations of this foreign-policy course were laid decades ago under the leadership of President Juho Paasikivi. It was consolidated and became mature under President Urho Kekkonen. It is being continued and further developed under President Mauno Koïvisto.

Relations between Finland and the Soviet Union, which are developing and acquiring a multifaceted character, are founded on a broad basis of commercial, cultural and scientific cooperation, which accords with the

interests of the two countries and is becoming ever more diversified and stable.

Together with other neutral countries of Europe, Finland actively supports the efforts of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, which are aimed at promoting peaceful development on our continent. The peoples of Europe, from the Atlantic to the Urals, are cooperating to strengthen mutual confidence and diversify their contacts for the purpose of securing lasting peace. We the Finns are participating in this work and we want to go on doing so.

The Social-Democratic Party of Finland energetically supports developments designed to ease tension between military blocs and between the great powers. An agreement on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range nuclear missiles, the signing of which has already been scheduled for this year, would be an event of historic importance. The Party is working vigorously within the framework of the Socialist International, and particularly within its Advisory Council on Disarmament, to promote disarmament and to increase confidence between nations.

It is extremely important that this process would continue and lead to large-scale disarmament. It is necessary to avoid the danger of a situation when the reduction of some armaments could bring about a build-up of others. And special attention is given to maritime regions and outer space.

Finland, being a country of Northern Europe, is particularly concerned about matters of security in the northern maritime regions and the ensuing problems. It is necessary to guarantee the security of the sea lanes. The vast expanses of the oceans must not become a source of threat to the security of states and peoples. A glance at a map with the North Pole at its centre will show the significance of this region and its problems.

The 1980s saw the invigoration of the concept of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe, which assumed essentially new dimensions. In 1963 President Urho Kekkonen of Finland made the proposal more specific by suggesting to turn Northern Europe into a nuclear-free zone, and the idea lived for decades, but it was not until the early 1980s that it was really carried forward.

A significant role in promoting the concept of a nuclear-free zone is played by various public organizations in all countries of Northern Europe. At the initiative of the former Chairman of the Norwegian Labour Party, Reiulf Steen, in the autumn of 1984 Copenhagen hosted a conference of public organizations attended by numerous representatives of political, trade union, religious and cultural organizations, and of peace movements.

A year after the Copenhagen meeting, a conference of parliamentarians of the countries of Northern Europe was held, attended by more than a

hundred MPs representing over forty parties; they discussed nuclear-free zone issues. As a result of that conference, the commission of parliamentarians of the countries of Northern Europe started working under the direction of Anker Jørgensen, the then Chairman of the Danish Social-Democratic Party. The parties represented on the commission make up the majority in the parliaments of all Northern countries. The commission's first report was published in June 1987. It maps out the political and geographical framework within which a nuclear-free zone is to be established.

A nuclear-free zone signifies actual rejection of a concept of security that dates back to the Middle Ages. In those days castles and fortresses were built to defend territories and populations. In a way they served that purpose. The fortresses built today for defence against nuclear weapons are protection neither for their regions nor for their population. On the contrary, they constitute an obvious and serious threat to security.

The establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the North presupposes the conclusion of an agreement based on the unanimous opinion of the Northern countries, as well as the guarantees from the great powers and military blocs to the effect that the territory of the nuclear-free zone will not be used as a target of a nuclear attack or as a place for the deployment of nuclear weapons.

The attitudes of the leading great powers towards the idea of the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the North have been and remain quite different. The Soviet Union has repeatedly expressed support for this idea and offered to give the necessary guarantees; on many occasions it has declared that should a nuclear-free zone be established, it would be willing to take measures affecting its own territory too.

The official stand of the United States on the issue of a nuclear-free zone is definitely negative. There are reasons to express serious hope that, with the easing of tensions, increased dialogue and progress towards disarmament, the United States too will deem it possible to make a positive revision of its stand on the idea of setting up such a zone.

The Social-Democratic Party of Finland, together with the fraternal parties of the Scandinavian countries and all other peace-loving forces, is working purposefully and energetically for the creation of a nuclear-free zone in the North. Such a zone would be part of a broader European whole. A nuclear-free zone in the North would be part of the all-European peace process. But setting it up must not be made dependent on developments in other regions.

The Social-Democratic Party of Finland is glad that the present meeting has been organized and hopes that it will find followers in the work of promoting dialogue between nations.

President of the African National Congress of South Africa

Oliver TAMBO

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU,

The delegation of the African National Congress shares the views of all the foreign delegations assembled here who have underlined the historic significance, for the whole of mankind, of the main event that has brought us together—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The unfading significance of the days of Red October 70 years ago rests precisely on the fact that the victory the working class scored in this country in 1917 resulted in the emergence, on the world scene, of a reliable base and spearhead in the struggle against imperialist, colonial and racist domination, against imperialist reaction and war.

True to the behest of the great Lenin, the first socialist state in the world has never deviated from the foreign policy course of a consistent struggle for world peace, for the social progress and happiness of mankind. The historical importance of loyalty to this revolutionary course is, in our days, underlined by the persistent threat of nuclear destruction hanging over the whole of mankind, a threat made all the more ominous by the reality that it is not beyond the aggressive circles of imperialism to bring their destructive plans to fruition. That is why we who are assembled in this hall today have every reason to congratulate the Central Committee of the CPSU and all progressive and peace forces in the world on the news that a treaty is soon to be signed between the USSR and the USA, focusing on the short and medium range categories of nuclear weapons. This development has increased the confidence of the rest of humanity in the real possibility of ridding mankind completely of the threat of a nuclear war.

It is in this atmosphere that the African National Congress joins other delegations in underlining the international significance of the present course of development of Soviet society under the guidelines of the revolutionary **perestroika** movement. It can have no lesser impact than the further strengthening of the great bulwark of peace—the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics—and the relaxation of international tensions.

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev and comrades,

The 70 year revolutionary course blazed by the Great October Socialist Revolution has not only changed the geo-political face of our planet but has also irreversibly altered the world balance of forces in the interests of mankind's social progress. The socialist system now embraces one-third of the world's population; the colonial system has all but collapsed; the international movement safeguarding the peace of nations has greatly expanded its scope and the national liberation revolutions are assailing the remaining bastilles of colonial and racist oppression.

However, more than 40 years after the successful conclusion of the Second World War, apartheid, colonial aggression continues to cause serious disruption of peace and stability in the region of Southern Africa. This aggression invariably increases with the escalation of the struggles of the peoples of South Africa and Namibia, led respectively by the ANC and SWAPO. The apartheid regime, perpetrating a most gruesome crime against humanity, has long discarded pretentions of adherence to internatinal norms of behaviour. With impunity, it transgresses state borders of sovereign countries on its way to committing aggression against peaceful villages, murdering innocent people and destroying property. This happens with brutal consistency against the People's Republic of Angola which has never known peace since the days of the Angolan people's victory over Portuguese colonialism. The same is true of the People's Republic of Mozambique. The apartheid regime trains, arms and deploys counter-revolutionary bands to destabilize that country as well as the independent Republics of Zambia and Zimbabwe, and it constantly deploys its own murder squads against the people of the Republic of Botswana.

Within South Africa, unprecedented fascist repression aimed at the destruction of the democratic movement of the people keeps escalating all the time. Thousands have been thrown into prisons during the current State of Emergency—and this includes children who are constantly subjected to savage torture and abuse. An unprecedented number of our comrades are awaiting execution. But the struggle of the people has become irrepressible and the regime is failing to stem the tides of revolt which have plunged the country into an ever-deepening political and economic crisis. In the context of all its crimes, the apartheid regime has sought to convince its allies that it is ready to negotiate a peaceful solution of the problem engendered by the apartheid system. The imperialist allies of the apartheid regime readily fall for these obviously false positions because the concern of imperialist powers is that any change in South Africa must leave the capitalist system intact, so that the country should remain within the orbit of the world imperialist economy as an integral and dependent part of that economy, and under its political diktat. As a result of these positions, the forces of reaction have developed a pathological fear of the transformation of our country into a non-racial democracy. Imperialism has no wish to see the peoples take full control of their lives, appropriating to themselves the unrestricted right to determine their destinies.

The racist regime has raised the issue of negotiations in order to achieve two major objectives. **The first** of these is to defuse the struggle inside our country by holding out false hopes of a just political settlement which the apartheid regime has every intention to block. **Secondly**, this regime hopes to defeat the continuing campaign for comprehensive and

mandatory sanctions by sending out bogus signals that it is ready to talk seriously to the genuine representatives of the people of our country.

We wish here to reiterate that the African National Congress has never been opposed to a negotiated settlement of the conflict in South Africa. But, equally, we have never had any doubt but that the apartheid regime was not, and is not as yet, ready for such a settlement. The objective conditions which would compel serious, genuine, as well as honest negotiations on the part of the regime have not yet matured.

The objective of any negotiating process must be the transformation of our country into a united and non-racial democracy. This is a perspective we believe we share with the whole of humanity. This is the goal we seek to achieve by the intensification of our struggle on all fronts, including armed struggle.

Assembled in the "openness" of this great hall are leaders and representatives of political parties drawn from across the globe, each of whom is a friend, and active supporter or an ally of the people of South Africa, Namibia and the rest of Southern Africa in their fight against the Pretoria fascists. This is a measure of the extent to which imperialism's chief agent in Africa is isolated.

Permit me, Comrade Gorbachev, on behalf of the ANC and the fighting masses in South Africa, to convey to the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Soviet people, to all the leaders and representatives sitting around this unique table, and to you personally, Comrade Gorbachev, our profound appreciation of this support. Permit me to repeat the ANC's pledge that never will it be said that this friendship, this support, this alliance in struggle was to no avail.

We reiterate our appeal to the rest of the international community:

— firstly, to impose comprehensive and mandatory sanctions against racist South Africa;

— secondly, to give maximum political, economic and military support to the Frontline States;

— thirdly, to give full support to the cause of the Palestinian people under the leadership of the PLO and to the struggle for peace in Central America, against US imperialist intervention;

— fourthly, to raise the level of material assistance to SWAPO and the ANC.

In this connection, we wish to observe that the struggle for national liberation is by necessary definition a struggle for peace. And peace is indivisible. For either there is peace everywhere or there is no peace anywhere. A climate of world peace therefore provides a powerful inducement for the speedy resolution of regional conflicts through the removal, by force or by consent, of the cause and source of conflict. That is why our

struggle is an inseparable component of the world-wide struggle for a world free of wars.

Our current meeting is thus a rebuff to those who are working time without end to encourage and maintain ideological and other divisions within the broad peace movement. The discussions that are currently going on here underscore the urgency of the task that devolves upon each one of us to spare no effort in helping to avert a nuclear holocaust as well as to stop the wastage of much-needed resources on the arms race.

The spirit engendered by the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution must reinforce this historic task. The lead given by the Soviet Union provides humanity with a noble example to emulate.

Long live anti-imperialist solidarity!

Long live the cause of peace!

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uruguay

Rodney ARISMENDI

Esteemed comrades,

Inasmuch as I have listened to the various views expressed at this meeting with great attention and have even, I would say, been inspired by them, my speech will be short. For, in essence, we are witnesses, with the exception of minor details, of a coincidence of opinions belonging to the representatives of widely diverse political trends, including eminent European Social Democratic leaders who, in my view, have made their contribution to the holding of this meeting, representatives of the so-called Third World, statesmen, leaders of guerrilla movements, fighters for the rise and resurgence of Africa and, of course, envoys from our Latin America, first and foremost, our great friend and Latin American hero Fidel Castro.

I feel that all of us here have affirmed one and the same idea: nuclear weapons and the scientific and technological revolution have led the world up a blind alley. Therefore, the theme of mankind's survival arises as an urgent necessity before all upright people and, above all, before the working class, which regards the need to put an end to wars and capitalism, as their root cause, to be its lifelong mission, and before the intelligentsia and Communists. This cause has been uniting us since the birth of Leninism and the promulgation of the Decree on Peace. It also unites us at this decisive moment when the danger of war has created a situation that formerly many people would have thought of as nothing short of miraculous: it has the ability to promote our unity and induce us to conduct a dialogue with the leaders of the Socialist International and representatives of Social Democracy, from whose views on the destinies of the revolution and of socialist society ours diverged many years ago.

I would say that all we lack here to make the picture complete are the voices of certain religious leaders who support the urgent need for unity, a tendency that is so widely reflected in Latin America between the Christians and Marxists.

Second, I would like to note the fruitfulness and timeliness of the initiative of the Soviet government and Comrade Gorbachev personally: now, less than two years after the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, we are witnessing two important events. One of them is political in character—our meeting, which is a harbinger of a possible alliance of peoples, governments, leaders and various parties aimed at the creation of a nuclear-free world. The other event shows how fruitful, relevant and necessary is this initiative now, when two years after the 27th Congress of the CPSU and after the proposal on the creation of a system of collective security and on a step-by-step elimination of nuclear weapons by the year

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2000, it turns out that Mr Reagan, who but quite recently described Mikhail Gorbachev and the Communists as being some sort of devils incarnate, is ready to hold a meeting in order to discuss the possibility of eliminating medium-range and shorter-range missiles. Thus the main direction of world politics has emerged: the embarking on the path of nuclear disarmament, although it is clear to everybody that this is merely the first step. But, as they say in China, in order to traverse one hundred miles it is first necessary to move forward one yard. And this very first yard is so important because it covers the missiles in Europe that have been the subject of so much discussion.

Therefore, it seems to me that we have arrived at a time when the tolling of the bells heralding the destruction of one of the main obstacles blocking the path towards a nuclear-free world, towards implementation of a programme of transformations and towards the solution of global problems can be heard. These bells are announcing that in this one case an end has been put to the notion of fatal inevitability.

Proceeding from simplistic or vulgar interpretation of Marxist theory, which is untenable, one can arrive at the conclusion that the tendencies towards war for a re-division of the world are arising from the depths of capitalism. The development of nuclear weapons initially had the sole goal of doing away with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and of ushering in an epoch of imperialist domination. But in the real conditions of the contemporary world what are the forces resisting this process? They are the socialist countries, the Non-Aligned Movement, the Delhi Six, many governments in Latin American countries, a significant part of the Socialist International, progressive governments, and so on.

This new reality, like the above-mentioned first steps, shows that the material and moral prerequisites exist in the world for isolating a handful of frenzied imperialists, merchants of death, and military-industrial circles, that other means for saving the world exist in addition to the class struggle, which, as it is a law of history, will continue to develop, and in addition to the struggle of the oppressed peoples, which will also continue. In determining the future, capitalism and socialism will find a fundamental and common range of themes opening up the possibility of securing a nuclear-free world and of putting an end to the horrible contradiction of the scientific and technological revolution, i. e., a situation in which outer space is being explored and the mysteries of genetic engineering unlocked while, at the same time, children are dying of hunger and the simplest diseases, just as they did a thousand years ago.

Our duty is to change the present world, to ensure a peaceful life and economic development. And it is in the light of this that, I believe, the new political thinking has to do with all of us and that this meeting is in a way a manifestation of this new thinking, a new approach to the search for com-

mon ways towards the solution of fundamental problems having to do with mankind's deliverance, much as it was successfully done in the biblical myth about Noah's ark. This brings up two acute and important issues.

First, the possibilities for an alliance between the working class and other revolutionary forces have increased in the contemporary world. In this connection, this meeting has also examined such important questions as the problems of peace and the elimination of nuclear weapons, and other problems of a global nature. It is clear that the range of these questions is very broad. There is much in common in other fields as well, much that we Uruguayans have well assimilated in the face of fascism, namely, that we must bring together in a democratic alliance the entire spectrum of the forces opposed to fascism for the defence of democracy. In Uruguayan political life an extraordinary phenomenon has emerged—a Broad Front involving the Communists, Socialists, Christian Democrats, the democratic movements of the Left-wing forces, servicemen, clergy and the more representative personalities of the intelligentsia. This front is not an imaginary but real political force playing an important role in Parliament, in the country's amalgamated trade-union movement, and among the Uruguayan intelligentsia and students. We pose the task of creating an alternative to the old forces, which are also democratic but in a different way, and with this we link the prospects for our country.

This is a question of great significance. The emergence of a new situation does not yet mean the removal of barriers, such as the system of alliances of the old type, as the concepts by which we were guided formerly and the eyeglasses through which we used to assess such alliances.

Another aspect of the matter is the fact that Mikhail Gorbachev, as befits a true Communist, has met with Communists and spoken of the need to renovate the communist movement. I think he is right. We believe, frankly speaking, that the Communists should more carefully examine the question of why the movement that has covered itself with glory and sustained so many losses, that has scored such outstanding successes of historic significance and carried out the revolution, that played decisive part in the rout of nazism, and that is the standard-bearer in the struggle for the liberation of colonial peoples, has nevertheless permitted the rise of more or less stagnant phenomena in its ranks and a certain measure of isolation from society.

I believe that this confronts us with serious problems. When dealing with perestroika and the wide-ranging self-criticism being heard in the Soviet Union, our Party must first of all view this as follows: we must think about all this and shouldn't merely repeat Comrade Gorbachev's words and copy what is being done in this country.

If we want to impart a creative spirit to Marxism-Leninism, achieve a

unity of theory and practice, and eradicate dogmatism, we must study the historical experience of the revolution going on in your country, and look back at how things stood with us, Communists of Latin America, particularly of Uruguay, when the revolution was carried out in Cuba in a way unforeseen by us. We followed that revolution and welcomed it, for it went down in the history of Latin America with its specific features and methods intrinsic to our countries. Socialism has general laws. But those who are familiar with dialectics know that the general finds its expression in specifics and that the history of any country, even though it is connected with the history of the world revolution, is precisely the history of that particular country, with its classes, the distinctive psychology of its peoples, their mode of action and system of alliances, with all that we call the capacity to intervene in the life of society. Lenin spoke of this in his letter, of a critical content, addressed to the philosopher Lukács. We must gain a foothold wherever ideological and class struggles are going on, we must be a tangible political force.

It is also true—and here I am coming to the conclusion of what I have to say—that the new situation emerging in the world in no way infringes on our principles of the class struggle, on our resolve to build a socialist world without exploitation and exploiters; neither does it lead us away from our philosophy, our economic views and our general conception. It urges us to see whether or not the activity of the Communists is truly all-embracing (by that I mean the questions of our participation in alliances and of allies, etc.), whether or not we want to be the vanguard not merely in name (as Lenin said) but also by virtue of the people's will, and first of all by virtue of the will of the working class.

Inasmuch as a revolution is carried out by the masses it is necessary to proceed from the fact that the Communists carry out revolutions not single-handedly, but together with their allies. And the range of such allies is today very wide; it is no longer limited to the working class and the peasantry. In contemporary society great possibilities open up for the establishment of alliances. In Uruguay there is a need to secure above all the involvement of the students and the intelligentsia in all their diversity.

Endorsing all that has been said here and welcoming the optimism that has been shown, the continuity of generations and the new substantial contribution being made by Mikhail Gorbachev, I have also made so bold as to voice my own considerations, some of which, I presume, are of importance not so much for the comrades from the Socialist International as for ourselves.

Secretary on International Affairs of the French Socialist Party

Louis Le PENSEC

Dear General Secretary,
Dear comrades,

On behalf of the French Socialist Party, I would like to convey gratitude to you and to the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the invitation extended to us. The October Revolution is viewed by the French Socialists as one of the crucial stages in the history of the international socialist workers' movement to which the French Socialist Party, representing one of its ideological trends, belongs. It is precisely in this spirit that we are joining you in the celebration of this 70th anniversary, to which you attach special significance.

You have proposed, Monsieur General Secretary, that we express our attitude to the changes taking place in the Soviet Union. The French Socialists are paying close attention to them and believe that the ongoing changes are an indisputable fact. These changes have become an urgent necessity, as your analysis of the contradictions of the Soviet system has borne out. The deepening of these contradictions was increasingly hindering the social and economic progress and political development of your country. The French Socialists recognize the accuracy and foresight of this analysis, many conclusions of which they share. They do not at all underestimate your desire for changes. At the same time they are interested in knowing how you have interpreted all this and by what means you intend to realize these changes.

They note, in particular, that the democratization of the life of enterprises and the more active participation of the population in the process of decision-making and economic management furnish the basis for the economic restructuring that you have commenced.

They have also noted your intention to restore the consumer his place in defining the tasks of economic growth and your striving to create favourable conditions for the development of the sectors that are to increasingly meet consumer demands. We feel that one of the guarantees of the success of the reforms you have launched is their universality, that is, the intertwining of their political, economic and social aspects.

You have stressed on a number of occasions that directives handed down by governing bodies cannot, by themselves, ensure democracy. In people's consciousness and in their day-to-day experience democratization is a process that takes a long time; democracy is established only as a product of civilized society.

The observance of democracy is inextricably bound up with respect for the people's freedoms and the emancipation of thought and critical reflec-

tions; the process of reconciliation between the authorities and the intelligentsia that you have commenced is also an indispensable condition for the high efficacy of political decisions and the right choice of priorities.

But respect for freedoms does not boil down to the adoption of isolated measures of a humanitarian nature. For amnesties and pardons cannot be elevated to state principle.

The observance of the freedoms must necessarily rest on a legal, constitutional foundation guaranteeing their inviolability. This is precisely why the French Socialists attach special significance to the draft reform of the Criminal Code in which, in the words of Soviet jurists themselves, the rights of legal defence should be registered; more specifically, the question of Article 70 and Article 190, which provide for strict punishment for convictions, should be examined.

You, Monsieur General Secretary, have declared for "socialist pluralism" in Soviet society. General Jaruzelski for his part spoke for "socialist personalism". It would be a good thing if such an orientation became the reality in the USSR and other states of Eastern Europe. Another highly positive orientation could emerge in the field of foreign policy in the event of a repudiation of the logic of armed confrontation in favour of peaceful and mutually beneficial competition between different political and social systems so that in the future this would become a long-term principle of Soviet foreign policy.

A complete withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Afghanistan would offer conclusive proof of this new orientation. The French Socialist Party reaffirms its request for the implementation of this measure.

The security requirements of a medium-sized power, like France, are incomparable with such requirements of the great powers, but neither can they be regarded as being contrary to them.

It is with great attention that the French Socialists have familiarized themselves with the prospects for a Soviet-US agreement on Euromissiles, for we stand for peace, disarmament and collective security. Indeed, we believe that it is possible to move along the path of disarmament without diminishing one's security in so doing.

Disarmament is desirable, it is not an end in itself; it is a means of ensuring greater security.

The zero option and its double-zero version should be received with approval by European countries, including France, even if they do not directly affect our country.

President François Mitterrand of the French Republic plainly stated from the UN rostrum in September 1983 the conditions put forward by France for its participation in the negotiations on nuclear weapons: a substantial reduction in the arsenals of the superpowers, repudiation of de-

ployment of counterforce systems, and a lessening in the imbalances in the field of conventional and chemical weapons in Europe.

We also believe that France should contribute to the elaboration of the common position of the West-European countries on the questions of security and disarmament.

We are convinced that significant progress along the path of disarmament with the observance of security for all would lower the tensions between the East and the West. This would permit political leaders to devote serious attention to one of the cardinal problems of the end of this century—the gap in the development of the North and the South.

About one trillion dollars are annually spent on arms worldwide, a sum equal to the total debt of the Third World countries.

This is exactly why we give close attention to any initiative aimed at assuring mutually verifiable security and making available new large funds for financing development.

In conclusion I would like to say that the French Socialists, firmly opposing the right-wing government of France and its reactionary policy, stand for European development and a society with a mixed economy, for scientific progress placed in the service of man and the environment and for the unification of the Left forces with the objective of building democratic socialism.

They advocate the convocation of an international conference on the Middle East and are in favour of solving regional conflicts through negotiations; specifically, they express their support for the Esquipulas agreements and condemn apartheid, which is a crime against humanity.

They clearly state their convictions, assessments and questions precisely because they favour a fruitful dialogue with the communist, progressive, social and social-democratic parties of the world.

Therefore, they thank you, Monsieur General Secretary, for having taken the initiative of convening this forum.

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Spain

Gerardo IGLESIAS

I wish to convey to you, Comrade Gorbachev, and to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union greetings from the Communist Party of Spain and its Chairwoman Dolores Ibarruri, as well as my own greetings. Our greetings to all of you, comrades!

We believe that this meeting is positive from every point of view, whatever its final results may be. The social and political realities described here by speakers from all over the world representing various ideological trends call for coordinating and pooling the efforts of the left-wing and other progressive forces both regionally, with due regard for each region's special features and general problems, and internationally in order to deal with such global tasks as peace, underdevelopment, and so on.

This meeting may be a prelude, as someone has put it, to an understanding on a new basis or to an essentially new understanding among forces with both similar and very different platforms. It looks like the world situation calls for it. Furthermore, certain factors are emerging that we believe may promote this. What are those factors?

Comrade Gorbachev, the leader of a great power, yesterday made new important statements concerning the Soviet Union's policies that open the way to extensive cooperation among various progressive forces. We all heard what he said, so there is no need for me to repeat it.

Tensions and the cold war have sometimes led to the establishment of strange alliances. However, the prospect of détente and disarmament builds objective and subjective conditions for a new understanding. The representative of the Socialist Party-Flemish wing has advanced a proposal here that, if adopted, would be a new step in that direction.

In any event, we agree with you, Comrade Gorbachev, that it is not enough to take parallel actions in various countries, interaction is also needed.

We would like to express our satisfaction with and whole-hearted support for the USSR's perestroika policy and its peace initiatives, together with the specific disarmament proposals they include, and to say that we wholeheartedly support them. And this should not be interpreted as being merely a ritual expression of support. It is a well-thought-out position whose correctness we are sure of. I believe that perestroika is especially important today because the right-wing attacks of recent years have fully brought out the need for a revision of the policy and theoretical positions of the Left in light of the major developments taking place in the world. We believe that a renovation is necessary not only for the Soviet Communist Party, but for the entire working-class movement.

The interrelation and the internationalization of political and social phenomena is now more pronounced than ever before. In some regions, the national level has proved to be insufficient for profound social transformations to be carried out.

There is an increasingly close interrelation between the problems of peace and development in the current epoch. All the speakers have agreed on that.

The tough foreign-debt crisis shows that the currently existing capitalist system does not allow Third World nations to overcome their backwardness. At the same time, unemployment and poverty are growing worse in what are called developed capitalist states.

According to experts, there are now more than 400 million jobless workers in the world, and the economically active population is expected to grow by 600 million by the year 2000. This means that a billion new jobs should be created in the world up until the end of this century. In addition, the past few weeks have shown how unreliable the balance and stability of international financial mechanisms are, even in the world capitalist economic centres.

Therefore, the only prospect for progress lies in comprehensively handling global problems, in using the resources throughout the world wisely and efficiently, and in political negotiations conducted mainly through international organisations.

It is clearly our primary obligation to ensure that Western Europe works for that prospect. To that end, we should find an alternative to its present alliance with the United States and to what can be described as nostalgia for its colonialist past. That alternative should be based on new principles of mutual understanding and cooperation with developing nations.

Further, we believe that consolidation of new principles of cooperation and understanding between the European Community, developing nations, the Soviet Union, China, and other socialist states is the right way to make the prospect of steady and rational development on a worldwide scale irreversible.

To advance towards that prospect, we should do everything we can to unite left-wing and other progressive forces, specifically Communist forces. And perhaps we should start that work by believing in the sincerity of our partners, especially the most influential of them. Here we should dwell on the modern forms of interaction, which have been described by Comrade Gorbachev. This is how I understand those indispensable forms: they should ensure respect for the interests of the strongest and most influential and also for the interests of the weaker, that is to say, the interests of some should fit together with the rights of some others.

To achieve success in extensive cooperation, especially among Communists, I believe it is necessary to do away with some concepts that un-

derlie many differences. In this sense, the Communist Party of Spain attaches great importance to the thesis concerning relations among Communist Parties outlined by Mikhail Gorbachev at the 27th Congress of the CPSU. He said then, "We do not see the diversity of our movement as a synonym for disunity, much as unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy, interference by some parties in the affairs of others, or the striving of any party to have a monopoly over what is right." Also, we highly appreciate the specific steps taken by the USSR in that period, notably those intended to overcome differences between the Soviet Union and the Communist Party and government of China.

Our high appraisal of the new Soviet policy is founded on the conviction that the USSR is determined to build a new world order of security and cooperation that would take into account universal interests and eliminate the priority of the "zone-of-influence" criteria. That policy has been growing strong, for it is accompanied by a social reconstruction and, as its main component, a democratization.

The US administration and other conservative forces in the world are fond of talking about liberties and human rights. But it is they who are responsible for creating a social situation in which unemployment, discrimination, racism, exploitation, and egoism in fact render those rights meaningless.

We Communists consider it exceptionally important to state that freedom, above all political freedom, that is to say, freedom of opinion, is inherent in socialism. The complete realization of this criterion may be impeded by historical circumstances and specific situations. But on the whole, political freedom does not weaken, but strengthens the system that maintains it, and puts that system's existence on a legal basis.

This eliminates mythical pretexts widely used by the capitalists to justify militarism and aggression. And of course, political freedom is a right that, understandably, socialism cannot deny.

As for the prospect that we would most like to see—the establishment of Western Europe confidently moving along the path of liberation from nuclear weapons and the system of blocs—this would release immense revolutionary and social energy, promote understanding among various left-wing forces, and enable those forces to employ considerable new resources in the solving of major social priorities, because military spending would go down.

We know that this prospect will not be easy to achieve. As they take stock of the new situation that will be brought on by disarmament agreements, the conservative forces press today for a new round of the arms race, to make up for the "double zero" option. The growing thend towards the consolidation of disarmament agreements, including those concerning conventional weapons, along the lines of the concept of "universal secu-

ity", is opposed by the idea of building a third bloc, a West European bloc that has been called "NATO's European bulwark" of "the Paris-Bonn axis". We regard this as an attempt to build a European nuclear arsenal and to revive the myths of European imperialism that have been discarded by history. Regrettably, that policy is pursued, and even led, by some of the region's socialist parties.

But let us hope that the idea of disarmament breaks through after all. The latest United Nations Disarmament Week once again involved millions of people around the world. Two mass demonstrations within several days took place in Madrid, involving more than 100,000 people. They demanded that all US bases be removed from our territory, that the Iberian Peninsula be made nuclear-free in practice and that the Mediterranean also be denuclearized and demilitarized. They demanded that the Spanish government promote a peace alternative within the EEC.

Comrade Gorbachev, we are certain that perestroika, like the Great October Socialist Revolution, will have a two-fold effect: it will change your people and the course of world history.

We wish you great success!

General Secretary of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL)

Ezekias PAPAIOANNOU

Dear comrades and friends,

Permit me to convey to the Party and the peoples of this great, friendly country cordial revolutionary greetings and best wishes from the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus (AKEL) on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The 70-year-long path of revolutionary struggle travelled by the great Soviet people under the leadership of Lenin's glorious party is without parallel in human history.

Inspired by the ideas of the Great October Socialist Revolution and led by the Bolshevik Party, the Soviet people defeated the counter-revolutionary forces, rebuffed the imperialist intervention, put an end to sabotage, and built their own heavy industry. In the Second World War at a cost of incalculable sacrifices the Soviet people routed the Nazi hordes, liberated Nazi-enslaved nations, and saved humanity from the danger of fascist tyranny. After the war, they rebuilt their war-ravaged country and continued the course of socialist construction.

The Soviet Union was the first to travel in outer space and continues to advance with unmatched accomplishments.

70 years ago, the Soviet people embarked upon an untrodden path, with no examples to imitate. It was a path full of dangers and insurmountable obstacles that ran through a hostile capitalist and imperialist encirclement. It was an unprecedented test for the Soviet people. No other nation in the world has been exposed to such horrible hardships as the Soviet people have, but they have not wavered, not abandoned their efforts to build the perfect society—a communist society.

The 70-year-long advancement of the peoples of the great Soviet state along the socialist path has not been without some mistakes being made. This is only natural. But Lenin's Party was the first to admit them and then rectified them in the interests of socialism.

Today, after 70 years of truly rapid and forceful revolutionary development, the spirit of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Leninist spirit, is seen in the policies of perestroika and glasnost worked out by the 27th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party under the guidance of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

These policies, which our party fully supports, are intended to ensure that the latest scientific and technological achievements are employed and to speed up the advancement to Communism. This is an arduous task, but we are certain that the Party and the peoples of the Soviet Union, which

have made so many admirable accomplishments, will fulfil their new mission.

We extend to the Party and the peoples of this country our wholehearted love and our admiration for the successes they have achieved over the 70 years since the Great October Socialist Revolution, and most sincerely wish you even greater successes along the glorious path of revolutionary history.

The Great October Socialist Revolution had a favourable effect on all nations.

Since the Second World War, various nations in Europe, Asia, Africa, and Latin America have broken the chains of capitalism and set out to build socialism—a reflection of the Soviet example's influence on the struggle of those nations.

The collapse of colonialism after the Second World War was a result of the struggle of the colonial peoples, and also of the existence of the Soviet Union, born of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The Soviet Union has rendered assistance to every anti-imperialist and liberation movement in the world. Even the high living standards achieved through the struggle of the working people in the developed capitalist countries were also promoted by the existence of the great socialist power, the Soviet Union.

The USSR has been rendering an invaluable service to humanity with its policy of peace. That policy has its roots in the Great October Socialist Revolution. The first act adopted by the Lenin government immediately after the October Revolution in 1917 was the Decree on Peace. Since that time the Soviet Union has never strayed from its policy of peace. Moreover, whenever there emerged local conflicts among states, the USSR did everything it could to bring about their peaceful settlement.

In this nuclear age, when a war using those weapons would set back humanity thousands of years if not totally destroy it, the Soviet Union, aware of its great responsibility to the world, is making tireless efforts to remove that danger. The enemies of the Soviet Union and of peace pose this question: if the USSR stands for peace why does it need nuclear arms? The answer to this question is obvious. If the Soviet Union had no nuclear weapons, a third world war would have broken out a long time ago. Fear of Soviet nuclear arms cools the militarist hotheads and keeps them from starting a new world war. Furthermore, if the USSR had no nuclear weapons, imperialism would feel free to commit outrages and to re-enslave the former colonial nations.

The Soviet Union was forced to spend vast resources developing a nuclear potential of its own, for otherwise the gains of the Great October Socialist Revolution would have been jeopardized. The entire socialist

community and all the newly-liberated states would have been endangered by a threat from imperialism.

The Soviet Union would be the happiest nation in the world if the United States and other NATO countries agreed today to complete disarmament, because the USSR needs weapons for defence only.

The Soviet-American agreement in principle on medium-range and shorter-range missiles has been welcomed by all nations as the beginning of a policy that can and should lead to a phased process of disarmament. It is inconceivable, however, that there can be disarmament on Earth while militarizing outer space at the same time! The Star Wars programme advocated by Reagan and the US imperialists is part of the policy aimed at achieving superiority and world supremacy.

But that is a hopeless policy, for countermeasures can be found against any weapons systems, whether they be on the Earth or in space. It has been pointed out that the Soviet Union has a way of responding to Star Wars. The question is not, however, if there is a response to space militarization, for surely there is. What really matters is the need to ensure a complete termination of the arms race and to start moving towards step-by-step and complete disarmament.

We support every proposal made by the Soviet Union, for we are certain that they promote phased and total disarmament and the consolidation of world peace. We also support the Soviet Union's efforts to put an end to the Iran-Iraq war and to eliminate all the other hotbeds of conflict existing in the world today. But we must realize that only constant efforts for peace can remove the danger of another world war.

Turkey's invasion of Cyprus and its occupation of 37 per cent of its territory in 1974 created another hotbed of war. A third of the Cypriot population remain refugees in their own country, and nothing is known about hundreds of others.

Turkish chauvinistic circles, with the support of the US, Britain and NATO, are ignoring UN resolutions and appear completely indifferent towards reaching a settlement of the Cypriot problem.

The US, British and NATO quarters backing Turkey want to turn Cyprus into their unsinkable aircraft carrier and a missile base. Britain has had "sovereign" military bases on Cypriot territory since 1960. The Americans are using Britain's "sovereign" bases, as well as their own, which they obtained illegally on Turkish-occupied territory. They get preferential treatment at the international airport and the seaport of Larnaca and are using illegal intelligence gathering facilities on Cypriot territory.

The tiny nation of Cyprus now acts against the Turkish occupation troops and settlers, sent in by Turkey to alter Cyprus' ethnic structure, and also against the US and British bases.

The Cypriot people support the Soviet proposals concerning a settle-

ment of the Cypriot problem that were put forward in January 1986. Those proposals are fully in line with the Cypriot people's expectations; but Turkey and the NATO imperialists are opposing them. This dangerous deadlock can be broken by a UN-sponsored international conference, and we hope that the current session of the UN General Assembly adopts a resolution on holding such a conference.

We are very grateful to the Soviet Union for its consistent support for the struggle of the Cypriot people, and we are convinced that Cyprus will one day be a truly independent, sovereign, integral, united, non-aligned, and demilitarized country, without Turkish or other foreign troops on its territory, without settlers, without foreign bases and interference, without the problem of missing people, internees, and refugees—a common Motherland for the Cypriot Greeks and Turks, and a centre of peace and cooperation among all the nations in the region.

In conclusion, we greet this informal meeting of parties and welcome the initiative of the fraternal Soviet Communist Party in hosting it. We are sure that this meeting will be followed by several other such meetings, which we think are indispensable for the international workers' and progressive movement.

General Secretary of the Centre Party of Finland

Seppo KÄÄRIÄINEN

Esteemed General Secretary, esteemed delegates, dear friends,

I wish to say a few words about safety, including ecological safety, in Northern Europe. I am speaking about the European North because certain issues having to do with that region were recently highlighted, above all by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's Murmansk speech, because the situation in Northern Europe is directly linked with the situation in the whole of Europe and in the world in general, and also because my own country, Finland, is part of Northern Europe. Ecological safety is today being discussed more extensively than ever before, because, after peace and disarmament, it is the second most essential prerequisite for life on Earth.

In the past few years, whenever the problems of building security and lowering the level of military confrontation in Europe were discussed, attention was usually focussed on Central Europe. This is quite natural. The confrontation of the military blocs has made that region one of the world's heaviest armed areas. In this connection, we can express great satisfaction with the understanding that has emerged between the Soviet Union and the United States on the elimination of all medium-range and shorter-range missiles in the world, including in Northern Europe.

We hope that this initiative will be followed by other steps.

European security is not just the security of Central Europe. In Finland's opinion, the efforts to lower the level of military confrontation in the European North are also very important. And the fact that various quarters have been showing an interest in North-European security is a positive phenomenon.

In 1963, Urho Kekkonen, then President of Finland, proposed making the European North a nuclear-free zone. In 1978, he specified and expanded his proposal, saying a system of treaties should be established for Nordic countries—to isolate them as much as possible from the influence of the nuclear strategy in general and of new nuclear technology in particular.

In addition to the idea of making Northern Europe nuclear-free, Finland has proposed discussing some other confidence- and security-building measures for Northern Europe. In 1986, President Mauno Koivisto of Finland advanced a proposal on limiting naval activities in the seas adjacent to Northern Europe.

Those initiatives are the core of Finland's efforts to build security in neighbouring areas. Finland welcomes the Soviet Union's consistent pos-

itive attitude to Finnish initiatives. This was fully revealed in General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk in October 1987.

In that speech, Mikhail Gorbachev pledged the Soviet Union's support for the idea of making the European North a nuclear-free zone and for the proposal on limiting naval activities in the seas adjacent to Northern Europe. He also reiterated the Soviet Union's traditional position concerning its readiness to do whatever is possible on Soviet territory in connection with the denuclearization of the European North.

One new feature about General Secretary Gorbachev's speech was his proposal that specific confidence-building measures for the northern seas be adopted as a first step towards extending confidence-building measures to the whole of the Arctic and the northern regions of both hemispheres. A more extensive analysis of those measures could promote talks on these problems.

Finland attaches great significance to confidence- and security-building measures in the European North and the entire Arctic regions. Those measures should draw a more active response: discussion of those measures would promote the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in Northern Europe. International discussions of General Secretary Gorbachev's speech in Murmansk have not yet given sufficient attention to the proposals contained therein on cooperation in the Arctic regions. Apart from military issues, he also spoke about cooperation in developing natural resources of the Arctic regions, promoting scientific research there, and improving environmental protection; he also stated the USSR's willingness to open the Northern sea route to foreign ships.

Among the various forms of cooperation proposed by General Secretary Gorbachev in his Murmansk speech, I wish to highlight cooperation in environmental protection. The North European states have some joint experience in environmental protection in the Baltic. We fully support General Secretary Gorbachev's proposals to extend those protection measures to all the northern seas of the world.

Environmental protection in Northern Europe cannot and should not be confined to the seas. It is just as important to make joint efforts to reduce or prevent pollution of the air and inland waters. This applies, above all, to industrial discharge into the air, which recognizes no borders. Therefore it is advisable to seek protection through both multilateral cooperation of states and bilateral provisions and agreements.

Ecological cooperation should be regarded in a broader international context. We in Finland consider it especially important that the all-European process should lead to an agreement on an extensive environmental protection programme for Europe and on cooperation in that field.

The danger of mass environmental damage is today just as horrible as

the dangers brought about by the arms race. Deterioration of the environment is an insidious process in that it can be well under way and still be undetectable to the human eye. Its effects become evident only when they cannot be rectified, not even by heavy investment. All humanity and above all the advanced industrialized countries should wake up and without delay start discussing their ecological safety seriously. Otherwise man as a species may find himself on the verge of extinction.

The saving of the environment, that is, the provision of the prerequisites of life, calls for extensive cooperation among states, just as the problem of arms reductions does. In a word, I wish to stress that environmental protection aimed at ensuring ecological safety is a high priority, which, along with disarmament, should serve to provide for our security.

Chairman of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin

Horst SCHMITT

Esteemed delegates, dear comrades and friends,

On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin, I wish to extend cordial thanks to you, dear Mikhail Sergeyevich, and comrades from the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for inviting our party's delegation to attend the anniversary celebration of the Revolution and to express the conviction that this exchange of opinions will have everlasting significance.

The encouragingly broad variety of parties, movements, and other public organisations represented here at this meeting is in line with the profound gravity of the major problems of our times, described so graphically in Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's speech. We believe that the maintenance and consolidation of peace calls for interaction and dialogue involving the widest possible coalition of our time regardless of territorial borders or ideological or religious differences, with a special role reserved for cooperation among the international working-class movement.

It is obvious, and has been repeatedly stressed here, that the Soviet-American agreement in principle to conclude a treaty on eliminating their medium-range missiles especially attracts our attention and meets with our complete approval. For the first time an opportunity is emerging to start genuine disarmament, regardless of how small that opportunity is. We regard this agreement as a triumph of the policy of dialogue, the policy of peaceful coexistence, the policy of reason and cooperation over the forces which are still staking themselves on an uncontrolled arms race and confrontation. This is confirmed, in our opinion, by the agreement for a meeting between Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan in Washington on December 7 of this year, something which we consider highly important.

We fully support the progress made along that path, which should lead to a major reduction of strategic offensive arms, as well as of other nuclear, chemical, and conventional weapons, down to a point where the only criterion will be defence capacity. It is understood that we are strongly against replacing disarmament on the Earth for an arms race in space. We stand for the strict observance of the principles of the ABM Treaty.

There are forces in the Western world advising that reserve be shown "with regard to temptations from the East" to do with disarmament. But we favour accepting any proposals from the East that are intended to protect life on the Earth and do away with arsenals endangering it.

This process is crucial for, among other things, the viability of West Berlin—the city in which we live, work, and struggle.

As you know, following the Second World War and post-war developments, two separate, independent, and sovereign German states, and West Berlin emerged on Germany's territory. This is a reality which is here to stay, and, if we want the normalization and relaxation of tensions in Europe to continue, changing it is out of the question so far. We are working to ensure that in this still sensitive spot of Europe, relations between the two social systems rather than being aggravated, continue to grow more stable.

West Berlin is in the middle of the territory of the German Democratic Republic and has a common border with that country only. This is a highly unusual case of a close coexistence of capitalism and socialism, especially if you take into account that 750-year-old Berlin has become two major cities—another fact resulting from post-war developments—West Berlin and Berlin, the capital of the G.D.R. Understandably, we, people living and working in that sensitive spot, are especially interested in the elimination of confrontation and the consolidation of mutual responsibility for peace and security.

Over the years, the situation there, which for a long time was a threat to peace, has been normalized, largely owing to the quadripartite agreement on West Berlin made possible by the Soviet Union's initiative. That agreement determines the status of our city, specifying that West Berlin is not part of the F.R.G. and cannot be governed by it.

Our party sees this agreement on West Berlin, which takes into account the interests of the four great powers in a highly sensitive spot of Europe, as a graphic example of how the goodwill of the sides and a practical policy of peaceful coexistence can largely neutralize hotbeds of crisis-prone developments.

We believe that the quadripartite agreement provided a sensible basis for the further long-term development of West Berlin, depending on strict observance and full application of that agreement. We believe that our city could get much more vital energy and better prospects if the normalization of relations with socialist countries went on and was not put to tests. This could be greatly promoted by closer cooperation with the G.D.R. and other socialist states in the economic and cultural fields, sports and other spheres. The geographical location of our city is the reason why its policy should develop along the lines of cooperation, and not confrontation. This, we believe, is the West Berliners' responsibility to history and to keeping the peace. Thereby West Berlin could, in our opinion, make a tangible contribution to détente and the establishment of confidence in Europe.

Our party has gained a lot of experience that indicates that efforts along these lines serve to build an adequate coalition of reason and realism, comprising Communists, Social-Democrats, Liberals, Christians, Greens, alternative groups, union activists, and unaffiliated persons. With

this experience in mind, we welcome the inspiring example of this broad meeting held on the CPSU's initiative, where political and ideological forces of such great variety seek solutions to major problems confronting humanity. Only this kind of interaction can save humanity from the numerous perils of our times and guarantee its future existence.

The maintenance of peace, environmental protection, and the development of the Third World are all global priorities. We realize that the interdependence of the contemporary world calls for sensible interaction among all the states, nations, parties, organisations, and movements shouldering responsibility for this world and for its existence. This has nothing to do with differences concerning ideological or socio-political positions. Our party thinks highly of the numerous Soviet initiatives for Europe and other regions that are aimed at eliminating tensions and conflicts.

We are holding this exchange of opinions in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. To all peoples, the victory of that revolution started a new chapter in the book of human history. We want that book to be continued and not shut with a deafening bang. To us, socialism is the main force of peace and the future of humanity. But socialism can only be built in countries if they exist.

On the occasion of the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin sincerely wishes all the members of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and all the Soviet people new great successes in the implementation of the decisions of the 27th Party Congress, of the policy of peace, and in all the efforts to accelerate socio-economic development and further consolidate socialism.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Brazilian Communist Party

Salomão MALINA

Dear friends,
Dear comrades,

We are holding this meeting at a time when people around the world, including in my own country, Brazil, are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This occasion is being celebrated not only by Communists, but by other political forces and trends as well. Though the epic of the Socialist Revolution is directly related to the Communists, its significance and development affect all humanity.

This meeting signifies that we are entering an essentially new phase of our relations with socialist and social-democratic parties and with all democratic forces. The unification of those forces is gaining momentum, replacing the formerly predominant opposition. A new situation has emerged where scientific and technological development has produced weapons capable of destroying humanity. The struggle for peace has today become the highest priority for all people everywhere. The forces of progress and humanism cannot fail to join the ranks of the champions of peace.

Before the personality cult was condemned by the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, our own party, as well as some others, adhered to dogmatic positions. In our case, that meant imitation of the experience of other revolutions. We tried to establish Soviets, liberated areas, and so on. After the personality cult was exposed in a difficult and painful process of self-criticism, our party started developing a new theory of Brazilian revolution. We are well aware that any revolution and any road to socialism are invariably original, and the revolutionary forces should advance along that road together with its people. No fixed patterns exist. Practice and specific opportunities will show the way. According to our conception of the revolutionary process in Brazil, the country's working class can find a peaceful way to socialism. We cannot say in advance, of course, what form this may take, but we are certain that such a way best suits the interests of the working class, the Brazilian people, and our internationalist responsibilities. Our adversaries in Brazil allege that the Communists regard the seizure of political power as the only opportunity to become the governing party, that the Communist Party is unadaptable and unable to exist and develop in a situation of democracy. We deny this and say that armed struggle and civil war do not meet the interests of the Brazilian people, the working class, or the Communists. Such struggle in our country can only be imposed on us by reactionary quarters of the ruling classes.

Brazil is a country of what is called the Third World, with a medium le-

vel of capitalist development. It exemplifies a country where, despite a relatively high rate of economic and industrial growth, wealth is everywhere surrounded by poverty, the major structural problems are not dealt with, and the dependence on imperialism, especially U.S. imperialism, has grown deeper. This has created a tense situation, which the bourgeoisie has failed for a long time to improve. Today it is the working class that should initiate the efforts to deal with the Brazilian people's problems and to introduce an alternative model of economic development.

Comrades!

We are going through a new period of bitter class struggle. It is being waged in various fields in order to find the methods and solutions that would meet the demands of the times and would handle our people's problems.

A situation has emerged where simultaneously with confrontation there is rapprochement of positions and where at each given moment we must be flexible as regards a possible unification of all the forces for the sake of progress. In our country a new historic coalition may emerge led by the working class and other working people. It will lead the nation to socialism. We know that this road will be difficult and there are great obstacles in our way. But we believe that the nation will overcome them.

The Brazilian Communists do not claim to have a monopoly in the struggle for socialism. That struggle involves various forces. Experience shows that this is a great and positive factor. We have good relations with the Socialist Party and the Labour Party. As for the Catholics, mutual prejudices hinder improvement of cooperation with its progressive layers having considerable influence in religious quarters.

Another acute problem is our relations with the armed forces, whose personnel mostly comes from the middle class. On many occasions they were in the service of brutal dictatorships, like the one recently brought down by our people. But there have always been democratic elements among the military. Regrettably, we have failed to establish adequate contact with them. Because of the erroneous concept of rebellion advocated by some of our comrades, the so-called national security doctrine has established itself and been adopted by the armed forces. One of the most important tasks currently facing the democratic forces of Brazil is to work out a new doctrine that would meet the true interests of national security and promote a rapprochement between the armed forces and the people.

Comrades!

The solution of the problems facing us is a lengthy and complex process, and they can only be resolved democratically.

It is for this reason that we bring up the issue of democracy and its consolidation for the establishment of a historic coalition to promote the interests of socialism.

Secretary of the National Council and Member of the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India

M. FAROOQI

Comrades and friends,

The delegation of the Communist Party of India is very happy to be participating in this rather interesting meeting, to exchange our experiences with diverse political forces from all parts of the world. Experiences of our common effort to save humanity from being destroyed in a nuclear holocaust. Perhaps, no other occasion could be more appropriate for this kind of gathering than the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It was an extraordinary revolution in history whose banner was peace and socialism. Peace was its imperative necessity, to build a new society of equality and justice, a society without exploitation of man by man.

The historic contributions of this revolution are well known. A direct result of the Great October has been the emergence and growth of Marxist-Leninist parties in nearly 100 countries.

The international Communist movement and the world socialist system, some differences notwithstanding, have become most powerful factors in changing the face of our planet in the interest of the common man. We Indian Communists are proud to belong to this glorious army of revolutionaries.

The 70th anniversary is also an appropriate occasion for this kind of meeting in Moscow, because of the extremely significant processes that are now taking place in the Soviet Union. And these processes are important not only for the Soviet Union. They are bound to have a profound bearing on world developments as well. I have in mind such processes as perestroika and glasnost.

Comrade Gorbachev has propounded the concept of "new political thinking" to tackle the problems of the present-day complicated and complex world. This is making a significant contribution to creating a new ethos in international relations.

We have been greatly impressed by the profound analysis of contemporary world developments in the speech of Comrade Gorbachev in the jubilee meeting on the 2nd of November.

We think the full potentialities of this concept need to be discussed in the context of the struggle for a nuclear-free and non-violent world as stated in the Delhi Declaration signed by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the CPSU General Secretary Comrade Gorbachev.

The worried world is somewhat relieved that there is an agreement in principle between the US and USSR in regard to the abolition of intermediate and shorter range missiles, and that Comrade Gorbachev and Re

nald Reagan will meet in Washington to discuss the question of strategic missiles and the ABM Treaty of 1972.

Comrades and friends, we in India pay special importance to the various peace initiatives being taken by the Soviet leadership.

By a happy coincidence, the 40th anniversary of India's independence and the 70th anniversary of the Great October fall in this very year. India attained its independence just two years after the defeat of fascism. The decisive role played by the heroic people of the land of the Great October in destroying the war machine of fascist powers headed by the Hitler hordes brought about a new situation in the world. Classical colonialism collapsed, paving the way for the independence of a large number of countries, India being one of the first among them.

In the post-independence period, the political and material support that our country has received from the Soviet Union has helped us to consolidate our political and economic independence. We believe that the success of the process of restructuring, i.e. perestroika, will tremendously increase the capacity of the Soviet Union to help the developing countries, including of course India.

For the preservation of human civilisation the newly independent countries, broadly organised in the non-aligned movement, have a common approach with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. India, as is well known, pursues a foreign policy of peace, non-alignment, anti-imperialism, opposition to racism, and friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

We should like to mention that the Indian Communists have played and continue to play a most significant role in the evolution of India's anti-imperialist foreign policy. This is our contribution to the common struggle for peace.

Disarmament, comrades, to us has a very comprehensive meaning. The arms race, both global and regional, affects us not only with the threat of annihilation but also because it upsets our economy. The steadily growing arms exports of the major imperialist countries, the US first and foremost, help promote the involvement of Third World nations in the process of militarisation. To avoid the arms-trap it is necessary to solve regional conflicts and defuse all areas of tension. The arms-trap, of course, strengthens the debt-trap.

It has been noted that the former colonial masters are still bent upon manipulating every aspect of life of their former colonies. Classical colonialism has disappeared, but neo-colonialism has appeared on the scene, and against neo-colonialism, our response is to fight for a new international economic order.

Science and technology have become "hard currency" in the new US diplomacy. While negotiating to set up what is called "technological

parks" in India, the United States delegation has put forward a number of demands which are derogatory to our independent development.

Comrades and friends, we would like to draw attention to the Asia-Pacific Region as we are vitally interested in it. On July 28, 1986, Comrade Gorbachev delivered a speech at Vladivostok which contained vital proposals for ensuring peace, security and multilateral cooperation in this region, including the proposal to implement the UN declaration of making the Indian Ocean a zone of peace and stopping nuclear tests in this region. A consultative meeting of representatives of Communist and Workers' and revolutionary-democratic parties of this region was held at Ulan Bator on July 7-9, 1987 and was hosted by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party under the slogan "For Peace, Security and Goodneighbourly Cooperation in Asia and the Pacific Region". Over and above the initiatives taken by the Soviet Union, various socialist countries and revolutionary regimes have initiated a number of measures. I should in particular like to mention that Afghanistan and Kampuchea have initiated a process of national reconciliation which we consider to be extremely important not only internally, but in the struggle for peace in our particular region.

The United States' belligerence is surpassing its limits in the Gulf region. Both the questions of safe navigation in the Persian Gulf and the ending of hostilities between Iran and Iraq demand immediate solution.

The tragedy of Palestine continues. India has always been a firm supporter of the just cause of the Arab people of Palestine, for their rights and for an independent Palestinian state. We denounce Zionism and the Israeli aggression against the Arab lands.

India has remained a special target in US imperialism's neo-globalism. Attempts at destablisation of our country, the continued rearming of Pakistan with sophisticated offensive weapons, the intensified military build-up in the Indian Ocean are parts of that strategy. All this is aggravating tension in the South Asian region. As is known, the US does everything possible to sabotage the UN resolution on the Indian Ocean as a zone of peace.

We would like to stress that aggravation of regional tension is an essential component of US imperialism's aggressive global strategy. Therefore, there is an urgent need to build up broad unity of peace forces in the countries of the region affected by such developments in order to counter imperialism's sinister plans. We, Indian Communists, take an active part in mobilising all the anti-imperialist, patriotic and peace forces, including such forces in the ruling Indian National Congress, for this purpose.

In South Asia, the people of Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal are fighting for restoration of democracy. We wish them well. Their success in their struggle will make a significant contribution to building up friendly

and good-neighbourly relations, and to frustrating the designs of US imperialism in our region.

We take this opportunity to reiterate our support to the people of South Africa in the struggle to dismantle the pernicious apartheid regime. We support SWAPO in its struggle for the independence of Namibia. We express our solidarity with the frontline states.

Comrades and friends, once again we thank the leadership of the CPSU for providing this excellent opportunity of meeting esteemed representatives of diverse political forces united in the supreme task of preserving peace on this planet, which Comrade Gorbachev calls the common homeland of all of us.

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Great Britain

Gordon McLENNAN

Our Party very much welcomes the initiative of the Central Committee of the CPSU in convening this gathering of the representatives of Communist and Workers' parties, Socialist and Social Democratic parties, liberation movements and other progressive forces.

It is fitting that such a meeting takes place at the same time as the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being celebrated in the Soviet Union and throughout the world.

It ushered in a new era in human history, changed the course of world events, and established the world's first socialist state. Working class and anti-colonial movements throughout the world were inspired by these events.

Today the Soviet Union gives new inspiration with its initiatives on disarmament, particularly nuclear disarmament. The perspective of a world free of nuclear weapons by the year 2000 has struck a chord in the hearts of millions of people everywhere.

In recent years, as well as the continuing threat of nuclear war, there has been a sharpening of a range of global problems affecting all societies and demanding a new level of international cooperation, in which there is an interdependence based on equality and mutual respect between nations.

The "tough questions" in relation to the nature of imperialism and capitalism posed in Comrade Gorbachev's speech at the anniversary meeting are integrally linked to this question of interdependence and security. The optimistic view that he outlined when dealing with these questions will promote a new apprehension of these questions and will serve as an inspiration to fighters for peace and national liberation.

We are all facing big changes and new circumstances of social and political struggle, arising from the effects of the scientific and technological revolution, including changes in the composition and consciousness of the working class.

This particularly affects advanced capitalist countries and raises new problems for Communists. How to respond to these has been a matter for controversy and division.

Yet it is a hallmark of Marxists that they develop their ideas in response to the movement of events and the challenge of their times. Lenin put this issue very clearly when he stated "We do not in any way regard Marxist theory as something completed and inviolable. On the contrary we are convinced that it only laid the cornerstone of the science which Socialists must advance in all directions if they wish to keep pace with life."

In the view of the Communist Party of Great Britain the situation in the capitalist countries, both generally and specifically, increasingly demands the creative application of Marxism.

In the programme of our Party—The British Road to Socialism—we apply our Marxist approach to the specific conditions of Britain.

There we state our view that in a socialist Britain there would be political pluralism, with freedom for all democratic political parties, including those hostile to socialism, to contend for support. The declarations of the programme that trade unions must be able to exert their full strength in defence of their members and be independent of the state, and that socialism in Britain would mean extension of civil liberties won through centuries of struggle, are particularly important today in our country.

Since 1979 we have had in Britain Conservative governments whose policies particularly identified with the Prime Minister represent a new phase in ruling class strategy, "Thatcherism". They have conducted a systematic offensive designed to remove the progressive social and economic gains of the British people of the postwar period; attack and weaken the trade union movement, undermine civil liberties, maintain the division of Ireland, and increasingly move in an authoritarian direction.

The main Resolution for the 40th Congress of our Party in 10 days time says: "Thatcherism is not simply a backward-looking offensive. It is an attempt to modernise the structure of British capitalism."

The Tory aim is to weaken and divide the working class while acting decisively in favour of the rich, the privately owned financial institutions and multinational corporations.

The government is able to launch its new offensive because in the June general election it won a decisive electoral victory. It is a victory that is exaggerated by the undemocratic character of the British electoral system which gives the Tories a parliamentary majority of 101 seats with a 42.3% share of the vote. Opinion polls since the election show the Tories continuing to gain support.

Given the position of Britain in the EEC, in the Commonwealth, in its special relationship with the United States and in the exercise of its world role, brief points on developments in Britain since 1979 will be of some interest to other delegations here. As will our observations on the position of the very powerful British labour movement.

In recent years the British trade union movement has dropped from 12 million to 9 million members and the Labour Party has lost 3 general elections in a row. But the great potential power of our working class movement remains as it was described by Engels when he said "There is no power in the world which could for a day resist the British working class organised as a body" (*Labour Standard*, June 4, 1881).

There have been profound changes in British society in the past de-

cade, in the structure and composition of the working class and in the outlook of workers. On the whole the labour movement has been slow to respond to that changed outlook, and to the aspirations and expectations of working people, including trade unionists. The labour movement seems to many to be rooted in the past, out of touch and not fully democratic.

On the other hand, capitalism has been able to respond and adapt more readily to change than some in the working class movement thought possible, overcome temporary crisis and difficulties. Its main political representative, the Conservative Party, has won the support of new sections of the people, including many workers despite mass unemployment and widespread poverty.

Yet the instability that characterises contemporary capitalism has been demonstrated by the recent stock market crash which will affect the confidence of wide sectors of the people about their future under capitalism.

In the past decade the ideological offensive of the right has not been answered by the labour movement, which has not effectively put the case for socialism committed to extending popular and democratic control over all areas of social and economic life. Nor has the working class fully responded to the important movements for women's liberation, against racism, in defence of the environment and new international concerns, including about famine.

Above all, the labour movement has not won the majority of young people to its side, even though youth's needs and aspirations are most seriously affected by unemployment, social and educational cuts and the threat of war.

The great achievements of the Soviet people since the October Socialist Revolution in 1917 are appreciated throughout the world, and this is true also of the achievements of other socialist countries. But for many people in the capitalist world, especially young people, the image of socialism has not been sufficiently attractive.

We especially welcome the profound changes now under way in the Soviet Union, launched by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. These processes are aimed at developing the full potential of socialism and at the broadest democratisation of society. The fulfilment of these aims was hampered in the past by the repression of the Stalin period and the subsequent delay in embarking on the thoroughgoing reconstruction of society which was necessary.

Now steps are being taken to revitalise the economy, overcome stagnation, and extend democracy in many spheres. These are vital not only for the people of the Soviet Union, but for the attractive power of socialism throughout the world.

Following the General Election, the British trade union movement and the Labour Party have begun to discuss the new challenge that a third

Thatcher General Election victory represents to our labour movement. As this process develops we will emphasise the need and possibility of the labour movement building alliances with other social forces and movements, mobilising the widest strata of the people in opposition to government policy on all the great issues of the day. In this way there can be constructed a broad democratic alliance of struggle with the labour movement at its core. This is a politically strategic concept which is as yet inadequately understood in our labour movement. Yet it is the key to the defeat of Thatcherite ideas and policies.

Our Party has played, and will continue to play, a significant part in the examination of these problems, which is taking place, and in the working out of answers to them through our weekly paper *7 Days*, our monthly journal *Marxism Today*, our other publications, meetings, festivals, and Marxist educational activity.

Despite the difficulties, we are convinced that if the power of the labour movement and its allies is exercised in struggle, mass opposition to Tory policies will be mobilised. Not only on the social, democratic and economic issues affecting the British people, but also on the great international issues. Let me here mention two of these.

Firstly, the Thatcher government will erect every possible obstacle to nuclear and general disarmament. We are confident that the broad and powerful peace movement of our country, supported by the labour movement with its non-nuclear defence policy, will do everything it can to prevent the British government's sabotage of the new prospects for peace and the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Secondly, Britain plays a leading role in opposition to national liberation movements and particularly in defence of the apartheid regime in South Africa, as was made clear at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. But this is not the true voice of the British people, as was demonstrated by the huge march of 75,000 people in London following the Commonwealth Conference demanding Sanctions Now. The demand for sanctions against the apartheid regime and in support of the liberation struggle in Southern Africa will continue to grow in Britain, in solidarity with the ANC, SWAPO and other liberation movements.

These two examples in essence demonstrate our approach to the whole range of international questions on which we are active, and in doing so carry forward today the proud internationalist traditions of our Party and the British labour movement.

We hope that our reasons are of interest and of value to Communist and other parties here, with all of whom we look forward to a greater degree of cooperation following the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution which we have gathered in Moscow to celebrate.

National Secretary of the Labour Party of the Kingdom of the Netherlands

Wim van VELZEN

Dear Mr. Chairman,

I am very grateful to you for inviting us to this meeting and for giving us, Social-Democrats, an opportunity to take part in the debate.

Much has been said here about the forthcoming agreement on medium-range missiles. I am pleased to join all the speakers who regard the treaty as a major step towards safe coexistence. But I do not wish to overestimate the role of the US-Soviet agreement and rapprochement. I see it rather as a first step, to be followed by many more.

We should not permit conventional arms to develop further—all the more so since the allegation has been expressed that the new agreement can be taken as an argument in favour of stepping up conventional arms production.

The danger still exists that the Americans may put into effect their SDI project, which may create an even less stable situation for all of us than the one before the agreement on medium-range and shorter-range missiles. So, the agreement is important only as a first step towards disarmament.

These remarks can be related to the concept of *glasnost*. We were glad to hear the speech of General Secretary Gorbachev indicating his serious attitude to the promotion of *glasnost*. We regard this as the main condition for more security in the world. But *glasnost* should be filled with meaning. This applies both to the Soviet Union and to other countries.

Democratization of society comprises such notions as religion, race relations, problems of sex and sexual freedom. There can be no reason for restricting people's freedom of choice.

We especially liked the speech of Mr. Karpov, First Secretary of the Board of the Writers' Union, which he made on Tuesday.

We hope that meetings like this one will make a specific contribution to the meaning of *glasnost*. This is in the interests of the Soviet Union and its citizens, the interests of all other nations, and the interests of the whole world. In conclusion, I wish to speak about the great need for international cooperation, which, to my mind, has not been given adequate attention yet.

The Netherlands is a small nation. Which does not mean we are weak. This is illustrated by the success of the protest movement against the deployment of cruise missiles in our country. But there are a number of issues in which we are largely dependent on others. Here are just a few examples about the Netherlands.

The people of the Netherlands is against the construction of nuclear power stations. Two such stations currently in operation are to be closed

down soon, not to be used for other purposes. This is great! But just across the border—in the Federal Republic of Germany and Belgium, and in France, where we often spend our holidays, there are nuclear power stations, so the risk for the Netherlands still remains, as indicated by the Chernobyl lesson.

One can cite many examples showing that one nation is often unable to handle environmental pollution. I could mention acid rains and the pollution of our rivers and seas.

I hope that *glasnost* and perestroika would promote an open and critical discussion of the faults of the modern and past industrialization and modern and older types of technology. I hope also that no nation pursues its own economic interests to the detriment of other nations. After us, there will come new generations.

It is obvious that major steps have been taken of late. But those are just the first steps, and we still have a long way to go.

I hope that common interests would be acknowledged and dialogue would be conducted across the borders between the political systems.

Mr. Gorbachev has put forward a number of exceptionally important initiatives to that effect, and we should work together to pursue them.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party

Kaysone PHOMVIHANE

Dear Mikhail Gorbachev,
Comrades and friends,

First of all I wish to thank the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party for the initiative to hold this useful and important meeting. This is a great opportunity for leaders of parties and movements to exchange views on major international problems.

We see that the world in general is now very complex and contradictory, but, in accordance with the objective laws of development, changes are taking place in this world leading to new, higher forms of society and processes which began with the Great October Socialist Revolution. Therefore a new way of thinking is needed to ensure a correct vision of the world and new views to help solve the problems that arise.

The present international situation sets a number of global priorities, such as the preservation of civilization, environmental protection, development of natural resources, rational use of research and development, and the elimination of hunger, poverty, and illiteracy. The highest priority is the preservation of peace, for only peace can guarantee mankind's survival, democracy, social progress, socio-economic development, and improved living standards in developing nations. Therefore I wish to dwell above all on the problem of safeguarding peace.

This is an issue that the world's public forces are divided on. In the world arena that division is seen, on the one hand, in the imperialists' efforts to perpetuate the exploiter regime and ethnic oppression, to step up the arms race, and to preserve military confrontation on a worldwide scale, and, on the other hand, in the unification of the world socialist system with all progressive and peace-loving forces and in the collective efforts being made against the nuclear threat and for the consolidation of peace and social progress.

Imperialism is the number-one enemy of those nations which are fighting for national independence, peace and social progress on Earth. Imperialism, which unleashed two world wars resulting in the deaths of millions upon millions of people, launches fierce attacks against the revolutionary movement and world peace movement and is stepping up the arms race in an attempt to gain world supremacy. Imperialism uses research and development achievements to produce weapons with monstrous disastrous effects and is pursuing the Star Wars programme (the SDI project) in hopes of gaining military superiority.

In this situation, even though the peace movement has led to progress in disarmament and has scored its first victories, it is urgently necessary for

all progressive forces and all nations to pool their efforts and use every form of struggle available to rebuff militarism, the arms race, and the interference and aggression of imperialist forces.

The socialist nations should, first and foremost, develop and grow stronger, consolidate their role as a bulwark uniting all the forces fighting for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress. Practice shows that when socialist nations are closely united, pursue an active policy of peace, and possess great economic and defence power—the imperialist states step back. This means that the acceleration of socio-economic development is not only the socialist nations' domestic priority, but also their contribution to the promotion of peace.

The capitalist society has reached a high level of development, but its fundamental contradictions have become even more obvious. The working class, workers in general, and various social strata of capitalist countries are faced with increasingly difficult economic problems, such as unemployment, deterioration of their material and cultural standards of living, and aggravation of social evils. To top it all off, there is the constant danger of nuclear war. Therefore it is a task of the highest priority for all progressive political parties to unite all forces and social strata into a single wide front to fight against state-monopoly capitalism, multinational corporations, unemployment, the arms race, and the threat of nuclear war, for peace, democracy, and better living conditions.

After the Second World War there was a rapid growth in the national liberation movement. Many nations gained political independence, but today still remain economically backward, with huge foreign debts due to neocolonialist oppression. This situation calls not only for a rebuff to the imperialist forces' interference, subversion, and policy of economic domination, for a new economic order and a solution to the problem of foreign debts, but also for efforts against the arms race and the nuclear threat.

Aware of the interconnection between disarmament and national development, the non-aligned movement has joined the forces fighting for world peace. Fresh proof of this was provided by the Harare Appeal adopted by the Eighth Non-Aligned Summit. We believe that this appeal should be translated into practical actions, that the non-aligned movement, the national liberation movement, democratic movements, and the international communist and working-class movement should closely coordinate their activities to unite into a single wide front, to isolate imperialist, neocolonialist, and reactionary forces, force them to retreat and eventually rout them.

When the world's first socialist state was established, Lenin substantiated the possibility of and the need for the peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems.

Peaceful coexistence is the call of the times and the cherished desire of all nations, for peace is an indispensable condition for every nation's development. It is therefore important to ensure a changeover from confrontation to dialogue and from hostility to cooperation.

This is why we fully uphold the Soviet Union's tireless efforts, highly principled stand, and important initiatives aimed at ending the arms race, removing the nuclear threat and promoting peace, international security, friendship, and cooperation.

Throughout the past forty years, the Asia-Pacific region has been the scene of sustained and fierce wars. Today there is still no durable peace or genuine stability in that region. So the elimination of confrontation, the peaceful settlement of all problems, the establishment of good-neighbourly relations, and the prevention of foreign interference are tasks of high priority for all the region's nations.

Having endured the hardships and trials of its lengthy, selfless struggle against imperialist intervention, the Lao people want to live in peace and engage in constructive work. The Lao People's Democratic Republic, along with the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the People's Republic of Kampuchea, will do everything it can to make South-East Asia a nuclear-free region and a zone of peace, stability, friendship, and cooperation. We believe that the settlement of the Kampuchean problem is linked with the problem of peace and stability in South-East Asia. We wholeheartedly support the statement made by the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea on October 8, 1987, aimed at a political settlement of the Kampuchean problem. The creation of conditions for South-East Asian nations to develop in an atmosphere of peace, friendship, and cooperation requires that the region's countries take highly responsible attitudes. For this there is no other way except dialogue, goodwill, and sincere, mutually rewarding cooperation between the three states of Indochina and the ASEAN countries.

The two nations of Laos and Thailand have had good-neighbourly relations since ancient times. Both have a common cherished desire—to live in peace. The Lao People's Democratic Republic has repeatedly expressed its goodwill and desire to promote relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, and believes that all the problems emerging in bilateral relations can and should be resolved through negotiations on the basis of understanding and mutual respect. Following that course, we recently held talks with Thailand and we will continue those talks with a view to promoting relations between our two countries in line with the joint Lao-Thai statements of 1979.

As for our neighbour China, a major power and permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, which also bears a responsibility for peace in South-East Asia, in Asia-Pacific, and in the whole world, we re

affirm our unchanged position—to work to maintain friendly relations with the Chinese people. We want Lao-Chinese relations to be normalized on the principles of mutual respect, independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference and non-aggression, equality and mutual benefit, and peaceful coexistence. This is fully in line with the interests of peace and friendship and cooperation between the two nations, and of friendship and cooperation among all the states of South-East Asia and the Asia-Pacific region. We fully uphold the goodwill of the Soviet Union, which is working to restore normal relations with the People's Republic of China.

An important role in South-East Asian affairs is played by the United States, and regional peace and stability largely depend on that country. We stand for the normalization of Lao-American relations and for the settlement of humanitarian issues between the two countries, including the issue of searching for the remains of Americans who were declared missing-in-action during the war. We insist that the United States stop interfering in the internal affairs of Laos and open the way to the normalization of bilateral relations on the principles of peaceful coexistence.

The Lao People's Democratic Republic stands for the promotion of cooperation and friendship with all countries regardless of their social system, on the basis of respect for independence, sovereignty, equality, and mutual benefit.

After the country's liberation and the national democratic revolution, our people chose the path of socialism, bypassing the capitalist stage of development. Laos is a tiny nation with a backward economy; furthermore, we have had to deal with the diverse acts of subversion being committed by reactionary forces. But over the past 12 years, implementing the decisions of Party congresses and relying on the assistance and support from our friends around the world—primarily from socialist nations, above all the Soviet Union, Vietnam, and Kampuchea—the Lao people have achieved major successes in defending their country and in building socialism. Those successes have made an important contribution to the strengthening of the three nations of Indochina, and they have helped increase the might of the socialist community, and have contributed to the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress in South-East Asia and the world over.

We believe that development requires not only peace, but also the cooperation and assistance of fraternal and friendly nations around the world.

Comrades and friends, we live in the age of a revolution in science and technology, a time when the trend towards the international division of labour and extensive cooperation among all nations, including countries with different social systems, is growing. We consider it very important to combine in the process of development national and international factors,

traditional and new elements, and to make effective use of every opportunity for promoting economic, scientific, and technological cooperation in order to use the favourable international factors for realizing our own country's potentialities.

Peace, friendship, and cooperation among nations—these are common demands of all the participants in this meeting. We hope that our loud and urgent call will inspire all progressive forces and all men of reason on Earth. Responsibility for the future of humanity obliges all of us to make fresh efforts for a durable peace. In the name of the interests of our nation and all humanity, we are following that course resolutely.

Member of the National Coordinating Commission of the Mexican Socialist Party

Pablo GÓMEZ

Comrades,

We are holding this conference because of the need to search for new paths in international relations on the basis of what is now being called new political thinking.

Indeed, the idea of a new approach to international relations has existed in various forms for years. That new approach means a universal search for ways to peace, peaceful coexistence, and the settlement of regional conflicts, and for solutions to the problems involved in promoting nations' social and economic progress.

Those problems are not new. But everywhere the conviction that we can indeed pose ourselves the task of removing the barriers dividing the world into blocs and zones of influence is becoming stronger.

As we work for peace and progress, we cannot proceed from the premise that it is impossible to democratize international relations and bring nations and their political forces closer together in a common search for ways to remove those barriers.

What contribution can political parties belonging to the wide and pluralistic spectrum of social progress make to the achievement of this goal? This is one of the questions we should try to answer.

The international community's most important instrument is the United Nations. There are also other agencies—regional or related to the United Nations. However, interstate relations are regulated by more or less binding agreements and treaties.

The Non-Aligned Movement has made a tremendous contribution to the protection of the underdeveloped and exploited world; that movement, as you know, is an association of states.

As for political parties, many of them are following strict ideological guidelines.

We have no mechanism, not even a narrow or provisional one, for interaction between political forces which differ in their ideological orientation. The creation of conditions for information exchange and interaction between various political parties would help remove the barriers inherited from the past in a world that has been made hostage to the danger of war and of humanity's self-destruction.

Responsibility for the elimination of military-political blocs and for disarmament cannot be put only on the governments of the states, members of the blocs. This is also the responsibility of all progressive political parties, regardless of their ideological orientation.

The same can be said about the major problem of economic develop-

ment. The foreign debt of the so-called Third World has become the biggest obstacle to the economic development of already poor and backward nations. But it would be impossible to remove that obstacle impeding progress only in the sphere of interstate relations or relations of states with the World Bank. In developed countries, as well as in countries under pressure from financial and trade capital, there are various political forces with similar positions on the problem of foreign debt.

Time has shown that the problem of the debt of nations dependent on international financial capital could be resolved without entailing catastrophic consequences for the creditors. It is obvious that our nations cannot remain forever in the tragic position of debtors, for it costs them a lot and hinders the functioning of the world economic system in general. A sensible response to this situation would be to use a new economic order to settle the entire range of international problems of indebtedness. This is something that many forces of various ideological orientations could agree to.

As advocates of socialism, a society founded on the free association of producers and free from exploitation and oppression, we can promote our goals without breaking with other political forces with which our positions objectively coincide.

Humanity's desire to survive plus the need to display elementary common sense in relations among nations will facilitate the search for present-day forms of communication among parties whose other goals and priorities of their work differ. We live at a time when the world situation compels us to do this. We should find forms that were inconceivable just a few years ago but are now possible due to the new political thinking emerging everywhere. If we do indeed represent real forces having a history of their own, we should accept the challenge of our times. The memories and after-effects of the Cold War are still there. That is exactly why we must eliminate the horrible threat of a real war. We should not act as though the situation has not changed in the past 30 years.

We should resolve to build a mechanism of interaction among parties differing in their ideological orientations, a mechanism that would be above international blocs and Europocentrism. We should acquire a world outlook that allows for the organization of exchanges of information and the coordination of actions among parties of a wide progressive spectrum. Some may say, of course, that this is very difficult, but it is indispensable to find the best way to reach that goal. We should discard formalities and bureaucratic conventions and give a clear-cut answer to the question of whether Communists, Social-Democrats, Socialists, Democrats, Nationalists, all progressive forces, including the national liberation and antiimperialist movements in many countries and various parties, in a word, everyone who is ready to contribute to the efforts to cope with urgent in-

ternational problems, can do something more, if they all join together, to end the arms race, to settle regional conflicts, and to promote the economic and social development of underdeveloped and exploited nations. We believe that all together we can do "something more".

Comrades,

When finishing my work on this speech, it occurred to me that, if circumstances were different, we would have here with us, together with Volodia Teitelboim and Anselmo Sule, Comrade Clodomiro Almeyda, General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile, who was the Foreign Minister in the Salvador Allende government. Comrade Almeyda is among those fighting for the right to live in their own country; that's why he is now in jail. I am sure that all of us, just like Clodomiro Almeyda and other Chilean patriots, are looking forward to an early termination of this dark dictatorship and a victorious revival of democracy for the people of Chile.

Member of the Revolutionary Leadership of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya

Abubacr Yunes JABER

In the name of God,
Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear delegates,

Attending the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution I am pleased to convey greetings from the Leader of the Great Revolution of September 1st, Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi and the Libyan Arab people to the Soviet leadership and the peoples of the friendly Soviet Union.

The Great October Socialist Revolution is one of the most important and significant events of the 20th century: it carried out substantial transformations in Russia and had a tremendous impact on world developments.

Those major transformations at first evoked contradictory feelings in people, a mixture of admiration and doubt for the constructive humanistic act, and gave rise to pseudo-objective talk. I have in mind the numerous and tremendous transformations which were carried out by the Great October Socialist Revolution at the start of this century and which had a profound impact on humanity. This caused the Western capitalist system, which acknowledged that those transformations were dangerous, to form an alliance with other forces of exploitation and try to kill the Revolution, to nip it in the bud.

But, to put it briefly, those desperate attempts completely failed. Today, we are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Revolution in the country that is now called the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. All the forces rejecting exploitation and dependence, standing for peace and freedom, and acting against imperialism and Zionism, look to the Soviet Union as a world progressive force and a reliable shield against wild imperialist attacks. There are irrefutable and real facts, events and evidence to confirm this.

I hate to speak here again about the wild attacks launched by imperialism, Zionism, and their agents in the Arab region called the Middle East. I will not do that, because my colleagues, the heads of the delegations of Syria, Yemen, and Palestine, have said enough about this. But I wish to add the following.

First. The Arab-Israeli confrontation emerged long before the 1980s. The right of the Palestinian Arabs to return to their homeland, the right to self-determination and to establishment of an independent state of their own on their country's territory has been recognized by the United Nations and the entire international community. Thus Israel is occupying militarily

lands that belong to the Palestinians. And world imperialism, led by the United States, is promoting that occupation, trampling on UN resolutions. Israel did not stop after occupying Palestine. It also captured and annexed other Arab territories—the Lebanese South and Syria's Golan Heights. The United States used all its power and influence and enlisted its allies in the region to separate from the progressive Arab forces the mainstay of their struggle—the Arab Republic of Egypt. They took advantage of the fact that Egypt had a weak government at that time—Sadat and his clique, the parasitical bourgeoisie that acted as agents of Western high finance which sought political and economic domination over the region—in order to continue using military strength to plunder the wealth of the region's nations.

Therefore the Israeli presence in the Arab region is a military force, a colonialist base, and a weapon of imperialism. Its aim is to perpetuate imperialist domination in the region.

Therefore the current complications concerning settlement of the Palestinian problem stem from the adversely changed correlation of forces between the camp of progress and the Zionist, imperialist, and reactionary camp. Thus, any efforts to find a fair solution to the problem can be successful only if progressive forces of the Palestinian Arab people allied with the world's progressive forces keep on working to rectify the current abnormal situation and create a new one. As for the practice of imposing an accomplished fact, no matter what you call it, this would mean fresh support for the Zionist, imperialist, and reactionary forces and a weakening of the vital strength of the Arab world.

Second. The Gulf War and imperialist interference.

First of all one should pose these questions:

— Is the imperialist interference in the region an effect or the cause of the Iran-Iraq war?

— Who was it that urged Iraq from the very start to launch aggression against the Islamic revolution in Iran?

— Who funded and escalated that war? Who supplied 30 billion dollars for it before 1985?

— Why is imperialist interference going on today, seven years after the war started?

— What are the motives behind the fact that the Foreign Ministers of several countries that have no diplomatic relations with the USSR met at the United Nations with Comrade Shevardnadze, Soviet Foreign Minister?

— Why is an Arab summit needed today? No Arab summit was ever called to discuss events in the Arab region that were just as serious and important, namely: the Israeli invasion of Lebanon, the Israeli bombing of the PLO Headquarters in Tunis, where the Arab League also has its office, and the US-NATO acts of aggression against the Jamahiriya.

Putting all these questions aside for the time being, we can say, nevertheless, and this has been repeatedly stressed by the Libyan Revolutionary Leader Colonel Muammar al-Gaddafi, that the Iraq-Iran war is a calamity and insanity, and serious and dedicated efforts are needed to end it. We regard it as a waste of both nations' strength and resources, which should be used in the struggle against their common enemy in the name of promoting and supporting national-patriotic and progressive forces in the region.

On the initiative of the Libyan Revolutionary Leader, the Jamahiriya is doing its utmost, contacting the Iranian leadership and Iraq, to put an end to this disastrous bloodshed.

Third. The imperialist and Zionist offensive I have spoken about is not confined to the Arab region, it is also aimed against other regions and nations, including the peoples of Namibia and the South of Africa that are under the yoke of the racist regime, which is getting direct support and aid from imperialist and Zionist quarters and from Western monopolies. This also applies to Latin-American and Caribbean nations fighting against US aggression and fascist dictatorships backed by US imperialism.

Brothers and friends!

I wish to make a number of comments on the profound and informative report delivered by Comrade Gorbachev at the joint session of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet, and the RSFSR Supreme Soviet, and on his speech here.

First, on perestroika and glasnost.

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is an occasion to take a good look at the results of the lengthy path traversed and to examine both that which is good and positive and that which is negative and unjustified.

I must say that Comrade Gorbachev's report contains appraisals of many major events of that period. For someone who did not live at that time and did not witness those events and practices, it is very difficult to form an opinion about the report.

A categorical judgement of anything, not substantiated by an objective analysis, cannot produce a correct appraisal of that period. We can say, however, that after 70 years of development, with the 21st century close at hand, a thorough analysis of both the positive and the negative is indispensable. So Comrade Gorbachev's report is fully justified as regards the planned improvement of the Soviet people's living standards, which is a major requirement for the coming period.

Second, on foreign policy.

Something Comrade Gorbachev said in his report at the joint session and in yesterday's speech has to do with a major issue stemming from the mutually interlaced obstacles imperialist forces have put up around the

world. The development of a formula for coexistence requires a sustained, all-out, bitter struggle between the forces of good and evil, between the exploiters and the exploited. And if someone believes that there can be a region where plunderers who got rich by plundering others can coexist with those whom they plundered, they are wrong, for that coexistence would be incorrect, immoral, and harmful to every person on Earth. The cause of peace is indivisible.

Third, it is our common obligation to continue working to get rid of weapons of mass destruction, and the desire to pursue that process is justified, no matter how small the first steps.

Fourth, opinions have been expressed about peaceful competition, an honest rivalry between socialism and capitalism. However, certain prerequisites are needed for such competition; they must exist if such competition is to be assessed accurately. For centuries, wealth was accumulated through plundering of what is now the Third World. That plundering continues to this day. Socialism can accept the peaceful challenge when the wealth plundered has been transferred from the plunderers to those they plundered. Then socialism will begin engaging in competition and honest rivalry, and the policy of peaceful coexistence will begin to be pursued. But if this does not happen, the fighting between the plunderers and their victims will go on till the cause of freedom and justice triumphs on the Earth.

In conclusion, I wish to thank you, comrades, and to convey greetings to the peoples of the country of the Great October Socialist Revolution and to its leadership.

Peace to you and God bless you.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union

Mikhail GORBACHEV

Comrades,

We are completing the evening session of the second day of our Meeting.

I want to brief you on the state of our work. Present at the Meeting are 178 delegations. Representatives of 119 parties and organizations have asked for the floor. Sixty-three people have spoken in the past two days. That is the objective situation.

We have two options open to us:

The **first** and the more realistic one, I think, is to complete the Meeting today, and to ask the Comrades who wanted to speak and could not do so due to the lack of time to hand in the texts of their speeches for publication in *Pravda*, just as those who did get the floor will do.

The **second** option is to hold one more session tomorrow, a morning session, but, as you see, this will not solve the problem.

Let us discuss that.

(The participants unanimously chose the first option.)

Dear comrades, as we have agreed in a democratic way, we are now completing our Meeting.

I do not have the authority to draw conclusions or to sum up the results of the Meeting. And I do not think anyone could do this right now. But since you entrusted me with the task of presiding over the Meeting, and it must be concluded somehow, allow me to express just a few impressions as the Meeting's Chairman.

I would look at our Meeting in the context of the present-day international situation, which—and this has also been confirmed by our two-days-long exchange of views—has at least **two most important characteristics.**

First, we all agree that the contemporary world has come up against a host of problems it has never faced before. These are new realities which we must see.

Second, all of us are witness to the fact that there is mounting concern in the world for the destiny of peace and the destiny of civilization, concern over the fact that problems affecting millions of people are getting worse.

And this concern has stirred broad masses of working people to action throughout the world.

Obviously today it is correct to note—and this is a politically important statement—that millions of people have emerged on the proscenium of history.

Quite naturally this has had a profound effect on political movements

and, to be more specific, has evoked serious response, above all, from the world working-class movement and from progressive movements. We all felt, as it were, the need for both joint reflection and interaction. That is why we got together at this Meeting.

I would like to emphasize that, in essence, the nature of the current epoch and the course of events have placed an immense responsibility on all of us for the destinies of peace and mankind. Precisely this factor, as we see it, is that objective prerequisite of our unique Meeting which is by itself evidence that we have entered a new epoch.

I believe—and many speakers have spoken about this—that by attending such a Meeting we have made a step demonstrating our awareness of our responsibility in the face of new problems and of the broad working masses' deep concerns. The exchange of views here has centered on all this.

The Soviet delegation believes that the Meeting has lived up to our expectations and has removed some of the fears some people used to have.

Nobody has lost anything but we all, I believe, have gained a great deal. I would even say that, having exchanged views and experience in struggle, we have learned many instructive things.

Thus we can congratulate each other, and I congratulate you.

I would like to make special mention of the atmosphere that reigned here for the past two days. Perhaps this is the most substantial point: we are changing, both from the standpoint of our understanding of the world we live in and from the standpoint of our views on the nature of our mutual relations. I would like to add: the statements made here give us the right to assume that the worst, the most difficult in our relations is behind us, although for us the future is not likely to be a leisurely stroll.

Despite all the differences between us and the peculiar features we all have, we are united—and this is absolutely obvious from all the speeches—by **two things:** all of us are acting in the interests of the working people and all of us are prepared to do our utmost to avert the threat of war and improve international relations.

The Meeting has indeed reflected the diversity of the contemporary world and the various conditions in which each of us is working, the specific character of the way of thinking and approaches.

We have come to know each other better and—what is most important—we have become convinced that we can speak to each other frankly, candidly, with respect, and I would say, in a comradely manner.

I believe that the Meeting has given us much food for thought, for reflection, for quests in the spirit of creative thinking and creative understanding of the world we are living in and of our new role in that world.

Dear comrades, it has been extremely interesting and important for us

to listen to what you have said and learn about your appreciation of and an attitude to the processes taking place in Soviet society today.

In other words—to our perestroika. We regard your words as a demonstration of support for our work which is by no means easy, as a manifestation of solidarity with us in our efforts.

The CPSU, working for the development and rejuvenation of Soviet society—a process in which all the people are actively participating—sets itself the task of revealing the potential of socialism, of socialist democracy and of taking our society to qualitatively new frontiers. We regard this work which we are doing in the interests of our people as something being done in the interests of all mankind as well.

I would like to express my heartfelt and sincere gratitude to you for responding, for coming to Moscow and taking part in the ceremonies marking the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I thank you on behalf of our Party and the entire people. I wish you, dear Comrades, all the best and every success in your work.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea

Heng SAMRIN

Dear Comrades,

First of all permit me to thank our Soviet comrades for hosting this meeting and the exchange of views on major problems of modern times. We are meeting at a time when all the Soviet people are celebrating the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. On behalf of the Party, the Government, and the people of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, permit me to extend cordial greetings to the Party, the Government, and the people of the fraternal Soviet Union on this outstanding date. Permit me also to express feelings of solidarity and friendship to all the fraternal parties and movements represented here.

The Great October Socialist Revolution remains the most important event in the history of mankind. It had a powerful impact on the national liberation movement and brought into being the first-ever socialist state. The country of the Great October Socialist Revolution played a crucial role in the war against fascism, and the victory in that war led to the establishment of the world socialist system and accelerated the collapse of colonialism. The Decree on Peace, proclaimed by the great Lenin immediately after the establishment of Soviet government, ushered in a new era in international relations—and era of striving for world peace. The peace-loving spirit of the first Soviet decree remains topical to this day, for now as before it is necessary to wage a struggle for peace, an end to social and ethnic oppression, and the establishment of just international relations.

In the difficult world situation today, the Soviet Union, in accordance with the great Lenin's behests, continues to fight against imperialist and reactionary intrigues, and for the consolidation of world peace. In recent times, the whole world has been paying great attention and giving strong support to Soviet peace initiatives, such as those contained in Mikhail Gorbachev's Statement of January 15, 1986, outlining a programme for the elimination of all nuclear weapons by the end of this century, and in his speech in Vladivostok on July 28, 1986, which contained a programme for universal peace in the Asia-Pacific region. We fully uphold and welcome the USSR's declaration of readiness to scrap medium-range missiles not only in Europe, but also in Asia. We uphold the proposals to bar the arms race from outer space, to establish nuclear-free zones in Northern Europe, the South Pacific, and the Indian Ocean, and to build a comprehensive international security system.

We believe that the Soviet Union's peace initiatives are a major factor easing tensions and facilitating the efforts to settle all disputes peacefully;

they are in line with the interests of peaceful coexistence, the prevention of nuclear holocaust, and the survival of humanity.

We are all following closely the developments in Soviet-American talks and support the coming Soviet-American agreement on elimination of medium-range and short-range missiles, which, we believe, will be a result of the USSR's consistent efforts, flexible approach, and sense of responsibility for the future of humanity.

Dear comrades and friends,

In its struggle against colonialism, imperialism, and reactionary forces, for independence and freedom, the Kampuchean people has overcome tremendous obstacles and difficulties. The genocidal Pol Pot regime—the most barbarian and cruel regime in human history—caused much sorrow and suffering and incalculable losses for the Kampuchean people. Thanks to the wise leadership of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the proletarian internationalist support from Vietnamese volunteers, the Kampuchean people rose to arms and scored a remarkable victory on January 7, 1979, overthrowing the genocidal Pol Pot regime. In the nearly 9 years that have elapsed since then, the Kampuchean people have revived their country. The government has consolidated its authority both in the cities and in the provinces. The nation's economy, culture, and educational system have been restored. In fulfilling the decisions of the Fifth Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea, the party members and all the Kampuchean people are defending steadfastly their glorious gains and remain loyal to relations of solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party of Vietnam, the People's Revolutionary Party of Laos, the fraternal parties of socialist nations, and all the progressive parties and nations contributing to the universal efforts for peace, democracy, independence, and social progress throughout the world.

Our people, who have endured incalculable suffering in long wars against colonizers, imperialists, and expansionists and the horrors of the Pol Pot regime's genocide, knows well the cost of peace. That is why we are completely determined to fight against enemy intrigues, for a peace-loving, independent, democratic, and non-aligned Kampuchea, which is following the path of social progress.

At the conference of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Asia-Pacific nations in Ulan Bator in July 1987, we supported the fraternal parties' initiatives aimed at preventing nuclear war and ensuring peace, security, and cooperation in the region. The non-use of force in interstate relations, good-neighbourliness, mutual understanding, the pooling of efforts against the nuclear threat, and the peaceful settlement of disputes—this set of simple methods is indispensable for ensuring lasting peace, security, and cooperation among Asia-Pacific nations.

Dear comrades,

Guided by good will and a responsibility to the nation and in accordance with the sacred aspirations of the Kampuchean people, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea made a statement on August 27, 1987, outlining its policy of national reconciliation. That policy is being pursued under trying circumstances. All Kampucheans have a real opportunity to unite in the struggle for the nation's development and to preclude the reestablishment of a genocidal regime in their country. The People's Republic of Kampuchea is prepared to start discussing the issue of Kampuchean refugees with all international humanitarian organisations and other interested parties with a view to organizing their repatriation and specifying its procedure.

The policy of national reconciliation in Kampuchea is fully in line with the agreements reached in Ho Chi Minh City on July 28, 1987 between the Vietnamese Foreign Minister representing the Indochina nations and the Indonesian Foreign Minister representing the ASEAN countries. That policy has received extensive support from world public opinion and inside the country, with the exception of certain reactionary forces in and outside the region which are doing everything they can to minimize the significance of our initiative, distort the essence of the Ho Chi Minh agreements, and to hinder a peaceful and fair settlement to the Kampuchean problem.

Taking into account the development of the situation and wishing to contribute to the settlement of regional problems, the government of the People's Republic of Kampuchea issued a statement on October 8, 1987 outlining basic principles for a political settlement to the Kampuchean problem. In that statement, the leaders of the People's Republic of Kampuchea expressed their readiness to meet with Prince Norodom Sihanouk and other Khmer opposition leaders, with the exception of certain criminals—Pol Pot and his close associates—in order to work out a solution to the Kampuchean problem and to ensure national unity.

The Vietnamese volunteers will be pulled out when other countries stop making their territories and weapons available for actions against Kampuchea and when all acts of interference into its affairs come to an end. The statement stresses the possibility of a coalition government being formed after general elections are held in the presence of foreign observers and an international conference is convened to guarantee observance of all the agreements reached, Kampuchea's independence, and peace in South-East Asia. These proposals of ours are another major step towards breaking the deadlock that has existed for about nine years.

Dear comrades and friends,

Permit me to express heartfelt gratitude to all the parties, governments, and nations supporting the Kampuchean people's just struggle and to everyone contributing to the progress in the negotiations. We believe that a

political settlement of the Kampuchean problem is possible, that this meets our people's interests and promotes the cause of peace and freedom in Kampuchea, Indochina, South-East Asia, and the world over.

Permit me to express profound gratitude to the USSR for unflagging solidarity and especially for the all-round support for our latest initiatives. In pursuing the cause of the Kampuchean revolution we are getting enormous and comprehensive support and assistance from the Communist Party, the government, and the people of the Soviet Union in the spirit of socialist internationalism and solidarity.

As we follow the path of the Great October Socialist Revolution, we wish to pledge that, like the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the Lao People's Democratic Republic, we will continue building solidarity, friendship, and all-round cooperation with the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries, and with all progressive parties and nations in the world. We will furthermore continue our efforts to make South-East Asia a region of peace and stability.

Permit me to express from this rostrum our feelings of solidarity with and support for the cause of peace, independence, democracy, and social progress for Afro-Asian and Latin-American nations and all other nations of the world.

General Secretary of the Reunion Communist Party

Paul VERGÈS

Comrade Chairman Mikhail Gorbachev, dear comrades and friends, dear brothers and sisters,

Like all the speakers here, I fully support the idea of an open, representative forum of forces advocating socialism, democracy, and peace, and I don't find it necessary to repeat everything we all agree with.

Therefore I wish to devote my speech to one problem that seems to me, and perhaps not only to me, exceptionally important today.

Comrade Gorbachev said that "the specific features of world development which had been building up and maturing throughout the entire post-war period became clearly visible in the 1980s. This applies, first and foremost, to the specific features of the nuclear age, which has pushed to the forefront the problem of humanity's very survival". We agree with this.

He went on to speak about the revolution in science and technology, with all its consequences. We fully agree with what he said on this topic as well.

Also, he spoke about the aggravation of "global problems defying the very biological adaptability of man to the dangers, rates, and pressures of the modern times". This is something we all witness, so we cannot help but agree with this statement.

But here I wish to speak about one special feature of world development which has been maturing throughout the post-war period and which will have an even greater impact on the course of world development in the coming decades.

Dear comrades, gathered here are Communists, Socialists, and people of goodwill working for the sake of the happiness of nations and people. But how many people will there be 15 or 35 years from now? With all the epidemics, wars, and hunger suffered from, it took humanity hundreds of thousands of years to reach a total of one billion in the first quarter of the 19th century. It took about one century to push that figure up to two billion. In 1950 the world population totalled 2.5 billion. This year we learned that we now number five billion, an increase of 2.5 billion people in 37 years, in the lifetime of one generation! There will be six billion of us in just 13 years, while formerly it took hundreds of thousands of years for the world population to reach one billion. There will be another billion people by the year 2000, a mere 13 years from now. I believe this is one of the major features of world development today.

Demography is the only field where calculations are accurate for decades to come, for those who will ensure the reproduction of the human

race have already been born. But if we look into the future, to the year 2025, we will see a scientifically trustworthy figure of eight billion people, with minor variations.

This situation is unprecedented in human history, and it is closely linked with the revolution in science and technology.

In 1950 poorly developed countries accounted for two-thirds of the world population; in 1985, for 75 per cent, and 13 years from now, this figure will be 80.

At the same time, one quarter of the world's population is getting over 80 per cent of all income, while the other three quarters get a mere 19 per cent. This is not only a demographic problem, but above all a political one; it is a problem on the national level, as well as on the international.

Here are some other figures. During the lifetime of one generation, by the year 2025, 37 years from now, that is to say, in a period shorter than the one between now and the end of the Second World War, which is 42 years, the populations of the two largest developed countries—the Soviet Union and the United States—will grow as follows: the Soviet population will grow from 278 million (1985) to 367 million; the US population, from 238 million to 313 million. Japan's population will grow insignificantly, from 120 million to 128 million, and the developed West European nations will stay at their present level, but will grow older.

I won't bore you with figures, but I will cite a few examples characteristic of major regions. The population of Latin America will grow from 406 million to 787 million, that is, by 381 million. In Northern Africa the population will grow from 125 million (1985) to 186 million by the year 2000 and to 295 million by the year 2025. In that region, the population of Morocco will grow from 23.6 million to 60 million; Algeria's population, from 22 million to 57 million; and the Egyptian population will reach 97 million.

The population of Africa, where demographic growth is just beginning to pick up speed, will total 1,643 million, as compared to 553 million in 1985.

I can cite other examples. In Asia, populations will grow as follows: Turkey, from 50 million to 99 million; Iran, from 45 million to 96 million; Pakistan, from 102 million to 213 million; Bangladesh, from 101 million to 219 million; Thailand, from 52 million to 86 million; Burma, from 39 million to 82 million; Indonesia, from 165 million to 255 million; the Philippines from 55 million to 102 million; Vietnam, from 59 million to 105 million.

The population of China will increase by 400 million in that period and India's population, by 428 million. Furthermore, their populations will remain the two largest in the world, but they will account for a smaller portion of Asia's total population.

These statistical estimates are more or less approximate in terms of percentages, but on the whole they are quite realistic.

Year after year the demographic situation in the world changes before our very eyes, but the press raises no hue and cry about this; the situation remains the object of study for specialized agencies. When the situation finally becomes stable, the new world demographic level will remain unchanged for centuries.

I have said that this problem, regarded as purely demographic by specialists, has become a highly topical political problem. Much is being said today about the problem of foreign debts—a key problem for underdeveloped nations. Is it possible, however, to expect, in light of the above-cited figures, and the existing danger of new conflicts, that the problem can be resolved, as various development plans are being worked out, along the lines of imperialists' traditional financial logic?

There are other urgent problems: self-sufficiency in food, electricity, and water, the elimination of illiteracy, development of health care, and transport and technological problems. The gap between the developed and the underdeveloped countries is growing. Investment and accumulation problems are growing worse. Large cities are turning into big slums. Lastly, the great damage being done to the environment results in the advancement of the desert and the disappearance of forests.

These facts and figures, which indicate a rapid growth in contradictions, force us to revise the traditional methods and patterns of solving problems.

The current situation is without parallel in human history. Only the forces of progress, with their vital energy, can find and develop the right solutions for the future. We cannot permit imperialism, when it is forced to step back in disarmament issues, to hope to use a different weapon against Afro-Asian and Latin-American nations, a weapon that is more effective and flexible than nuclear weapons—food supplies. We should not permit imperialism to bully and blackmail nations, threatening them with hunger.

We believe that the current demographic situation should be examined in all its aspects without delay. We should act against time. We are not ready for that at all. At the conferences in Bucharest in 1974 and in Mexico ten years later, the democratic forces produced no single concept concerning this problem.

Never before has a common stand on all problems been so obviously necessary, these problems including those of disarmament, peace, development and national independence, human rights on a world scale, protection of the environment we all live in, and the scientific and technological revolution. All this calls for dialogue and coordinated efforts in order to strengthen constantly and practically the unity of socialist nations, the democratic forces in developed countries and the underdeveloped nations

where a special role should be played by young people as the most dynamic part of a nation. The demand for the establishment of a New International Economic Order is inseparably linked with the need for a new social, informational, and cultural order in those countries.

The idea of the equality of all people on Earth is new and revolutionary; it calls for a new interpretation of the very notion of human rights in the demographic situation at the end of this century. The need to ensure the survival of humanity calls for the elimination of any risk that it may be destroyed by nuclear weapons.

In his last letter, Comrade Lenin stressed the role of the demographic factor for the future of socialism. Present-day statistics add even more scope to what he foresaw. Today, when we can see the whole planet on photos taken from outer space, we are aware that our problems are really assuming global dimensions in all their exceptional complexity. And they affect each of us.

Our meeting appeals to everyone's sense of responsibility, calling on us to weigh the complexity of the new. The consciousness of everyone who is responsible for the destinies of other people should undergo a genuine revolutionary change comparable with Copernicus' discovery. Only after equipping ourselves with the most progressive theory and the experience of all the previous generations will we be able to start transforming the present-day reality. Nothing can be as much help to us in correcting and improving our positions as a critical attitude towards them. That is why I have shared all these thoughts with you.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Turkey

Haydar KUTLU

Comrades and friends! As a Communist I am happy to see that a constructive dialogue is going on in an atmosphere of friendship and fraternity in these remarkable days.

It is becoming obvious today that, despite all the hideously large nuclear stockpiles, our planet is in the hands of people aware of their responsibility for its future. It is also obvious that uniting the forces of reason and realism in the struggle for peace and for a world worthy of man is not a utopian project. Excuse my highflown words, but perhaps it can be said that this forum mirrors humanity's hopes and expectations. What other meaning can we see in the wide spectrum of political views represented here?

It is not accidental that speakers at this forum voice the hopes and expectations of millions of women and men, young and old. Seventy years ago too, in days that shook the world, all humanity—workers, intellectuals, and all working people in general—focused their attention on Lenin's Communist Party and the Soviet State.

However this parallel sets one thinking—thinking about how historical events should be examined critically. The fact that Communists have started doing this for the sake of the future gives us hope for success. From this viewpoint, we consider the speech the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Comrade Gorbachev, made, which answers these questions, to be very important.

But our thoughts keep returning to the present. The atmosphere of constructive criticism forces us to think about whether we Communists are using the entire potential available to promote cooperation and dialogue. We could probably do a whole lot working together. Therefore, we should get to know and understand each other better, despite certain ideological and political differences, and this requires that we be closer to each other. At the same time, the fact that we have a common future and there is one small world for all of us dictates this to us.

We Communists should ask ourselves: what should we do to reach this goal? First of all, we probably should emphasize that Marxists have no monopoly on truth. This is one prerequisite for constructive dialogue. Second, we should have the courage to put the ideas of Marx, Engels, and Lenin to the test today and to develop them further. If we fail to do this, we won't be able to see that life itself proves again and again the correctness of their views. Third, we must not hesitate to speak of our errors, problems, and weaknesses, theoretic or practical. And, lastly, in this age of the scien-

tific and technological revolution we should keep up with reality, which changes rapidly.

In this sense, we believe that the Great October Socialist Revolution blazed the trail not only for the peoples of the Soviet Union, but also for nations around the world. The Revolution remains the most important event of the 20th century; it ushered in a new era in the history of humanity. It laid the basis of a society that has eliminated all forms of exploitation and ethnic oppression. The Revolution also gave a fresh impetus to nations' struggle for national and social liberation.

The success of the national liberation movement in Turkey was largely due to the influence of the Great October Socialist Revolution and its support.

The 1917 Socialist Revolution was met with the support and interest of all progressive forces in Turkey, even though they failed to apply its ideas in their own country. The working-class movement was divided into Communists and Social Democrats—mainly depending on their attitudes to the October Revolution. Due to the need to defend and support the first socialist revolution to be victorious in those historical conditions, differences of opinion rapidly developed into profound ideological discords. There were no conditions at the time for joint discussions to be held by all progressive forces, with all their various views.

The building of socialism under extremely difficult conditions, with constant attacks launched by the most aggressive imperialist forces, the rout of fascism, and the rebuff to external pressures during the "cold war"—all this led to the second wave of the world revolutionary process. After the Second World War several socialist nations emerged, the colonial system of imperialism collapsed, and many states gained national independence.

The unmatched heroism and self-sacrifice in the war to save humanity from fascism greatly augmented the Soviet people's political and moral prestige with the world public. But despite the support of all the world's progressive forces for the Soviet people, not all of these forces could take advantage of this second wave of the world revolutionary process. For, as it is noted today, the situation that brought on the departure in the Soviet Union from Leninist methods and principles beginning in the late 1930s with violations of democratic norms within the government and within the Party and a growth of dogmatism and red tape, led to greater differences among progressive forces. Besides, the objective historical situation created no prerequisites for a discussion by the progressive forces of their differences of opinion in such a way as to prevent their ranks from becoming divided.

In the 1980s humanity is faced with a choice. The revolution in science and technology, the internationalization of production, the existence of

weapons of mass destruction and global problems—all these factors have made the world with all its antagonism an increasingly interrelated entity. Either humanity will perish in a nuclear or ecological disaster, or it will pool its efforts to find adequate solutions. Whether those solutions will be worked out or not depends on the introduction of a new mode of political thinking. Therefore, we regard the reconstruction currently being carried out in the Soviet Union as a revolutionary step of worldwide significance. For the first time in history the arms race is being reversed, which manifests itself, in particular, in the field of nuclear disarmament.

The all-round consolidation of democracy in the USSR is revitalizing all the revolutionary forces of the nation. On the basis of socialist relations and modern technology, a drastic restructuring of the national economy is being carried out.

This revolutionary process, its internal and external prospects, are winning the support of workers, intellectuals and all working people around the world. We believe that its success can guarantee world peace and give impetus to a third wave of historical progress. This process is going on in an atmosphere of democracy which has again set in in the country and in the Party in accordance with the Leninist traditions of a critical and creative approach. Conditions are better today than ever before for the forces of progress, which are displaying support for and interest in the perestroika, to absorb and uphold this reconstruction and to apply it in their work. The situation is such that all the forces of progress are able to discuss their existing differences without damaging their unity.

The progressive forces of the world can unite in their actions to fulfill universal priority tasks. These tasks are, above all, the preservation of peace and also the strengthening of national sovereignty and democracy, social justice, economic growth, cultural development, the development of the individual, environmental protection, and women's liberation. An international security system under the aegis of the UN for handling military, political, economic, and ecological issues, as well as human rights issues could provide a common basis for those efforts.

In our opinion, conditions are ripening for the consolidation of a new political atmosphere in which progressive forces would be able to discuss their differences without damaging their unity. Such a discussion could help them launch a search for a common answer to these questions: what is the new meaning of the progressive forces' efforts today? And what must we do to make the human factor the backbone of our work?

The historical superiority of socialism over capitalism, which is now on the verge of a crisis, is becoming more and more evident, and the prospects the Great October Socialist Revolution opened up for humanity are standing out ever more clearly. However, unlike earlier crises, the current crisis of capitalism does not in itself create a favourable environment for the pro-

gressive forces' struggle. On the contrary, the crisis primarily affects the working people. Conditions are ripening for a rearrangement of society on the principles of peace, democracy, freedom of the individual, and democratic progress. This broadens the general basis of cooperation among various political and social forces.

The forces of progress could build a multifaceted, diverse and, at the same time, extensive and powerful movement in which they would all have a place, despite their various policy objectives, forms of organisation and activities and keep their identity.

A unification of left-wing forces, especially of Communists and Social Democrats, on the basis of common traditions, values, and goals seems more possible today than ever before.

We can see no obstacles to the development within that single movement and among Communists themselves of new, closer links free from formalism. The unity of the communist movement could be consolidated on the basis of class solidarity, internationalism, and common goals—and this unity would not have to be an alternative to cooperation within a wider spectrum of progressive forces. Undoubtedly, this will be a unity within the framework of variety founded on the parties' independence and equality. Relying on the variety of our views and experience, we will find it easier to develop our theory.

We are certain that the present period offers broader opportunities for Communists to influence political developments. We feel this in our own country, even though we have to work in unbelievably difficult circumstances. But the Communist Party of Turkey knows from its own experience that in order to use those opportunities, a new political strategy is needed to match the circumstances today that are constantly changing. At the same time, we should restructure our party.

In analyzing the causes of the defeat of the democratic forces following the military coup in Turkey, our party carried out a thorough and critical study of its policy guidelines and the major areas of its work and of its inner-party affairs. Ever since 1980 the Communist Party of Turkey has been engaged in constant searches and debates, enriching its views—even though not all the searches have been free from contradictions and zigzags. Those searches led us to the decision to unite with the Workers' Party of Turkey, which was making similar efforts, to form a United Communist Party of Turkey.

We worked out a new political strategy, based on two closely interlinked factors—the preservation of peace and the consolidation of democracy. We also worked out several alternative democratic programmes intended to resolve a number of problems while we are still living under capitalism. In this we aim to enlist the support of other democratic forces as much as possible and to develop inner-party democracy. Our objective is

to become a political party capable of maintaining a constructive dialogue with all progressive forces, of conducting an involved discussion within the party, of constantly exerting influence on the political situation and of organizing mass actions.

We regard the unification of the Communist Party and the Workers' Party of Turkey on the basis of a new programme and strategy as a modest indication of the fact that the division and weakening of progressive forces in the face of new problems can be avoided.

To what extent the United Communist Party of Turkey will be able to hold on to its political initiative and pursue its new strategy depends on how much freedom it will have in making its views known to the millions of people. In other words, everything depends whether or not we are legalized. Also, we should start working immediately to safeguard peace and promote detente in our own country.

The current situation in Turkey as yet does not give Communists any democratic guarantees. But there is no need to wait for the conditions ripen.

In order to produce an appreciable effect on that process and speed it up, the leading bodies of the Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Turkey decided that both parties' General Secretaries should return to Turkey and start working on getting the United Communist Party legalized. We have no illusions about this step leading to an easy victory. But this is an act in the name of our freedom.

We believe that all the forces of democracy and progress will uphold our efforts for democracy and freedom.

I convey best regards to all of you from the Workers' Party and the Communist Party of Turkey!

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Canada

William KASHTAN

Comrade Chairman, our delegation wishes to thank the CPSU for organizing this exchange. The large number of participants attending, including many Social Democratic and Socialist parties, Labour parties and other movements, is a tribute to the openness, to glasnost and perestroika, which typifies the work of the CPSU. It marks an important point of change from the sharp relationship which characterized the relations of the two wings of the working class, the reformist and revolutionary wings. Their presence at this international forum creates possibilities for the development of a continuing dialogue, not a "dialogue of the deaf", but a meaningful one which could lead to a qualitative change in the worldwide struggle for a nuclear-free world. Our Party welcomes this development and only hopes that the New Democratic Party in Canada will also eventually participate in this dialogue.

In our country, as in most countries, there is great interest in perestroika, something our Party welcomes and supports.

Peace and perestroika go together. They are inseparable.

It has been correctly said that we are at a turning point in international developments. The INF agreement, when signed, will mark an important victory for the USSR and other socialist countries, the cause of peace as well as for peace movements everywhere.

It could open up a new situation in politics providing it is followed up by further measures leading to a nuclear-free and violence-free world by the year 2000.

However, US imperialism and its NATO allies refuse to give up nuclear weapons. They refuse to give up Star Wars and the first strike nuclear strategy which is its essential characteristic.

There are no guarantees as yet of a fundamental change in the US administration. There are strong forces in the world, most aggressive, militarist and revanchist elements which want to upset the agreement and prevent further agreements.

They refuse to give up nuclear weapons saying they are necessary for maintaining peace. This argument of nuclear deterrence calls for systematic exposure.

One should be alert and vigilant to the efforts of imperialism to counter the agreement on INF with renewed measures of armaments.

We all agree that the issue today is that of survival.

We likewise agree with the aim of winning a nuclear-free world by the year 2000. This is a priority task in today's world.

To achieve this aim will require tremendous effort and much more powerful mass pressures than ever before in our respective countries.

Are there the possibilities of achieving coordination of effort internationally to achieve the objective of a nuclear free world by the year 2000—a coordination of effort which could embrace all peace forces, political parties, governments, the trade union movement and other democratic forces?

It seems to our Party that this is an objective which should be at the centre of our attention now, linked, of course, to other step by step measures leading in that direction.

There is all the more reason for this in light of the efforts by NATO to counter the elimination of INF by deploying new nuclear forces in Europe. These options include deploying new fighter aircraft, battlefield missiles, air-launched cruise missiles and other weapons with nuclear warheads in Europe.

This re-emphasises the remarks of Comrade Gorbachev made in Murmansk that "there are signs of improvement in the international situation but I repeat, there are also disquieting aspects which are fraught with a sharp aggravation of the situation in the world. It would be irresponsible on our part to underestimate the forces of resistance to change".

This position emanating from Washington and other capitals is not separate from the desire to put roadblocks in the way of perestroika, to "trip" the Soviet Union up, wear it down and prevent it from showing in practice its superiority over capitalism.

This is all the more reason to expand the fight for peace. The fight for peace which has reached a new stage finds its reflection in Canada also.

The fight for peace in our country centres around the issue of an independent foreign policy of peace. This emphasis on an independent foreign policy arises from Canada's relationship with the USA economically, politically, in foreign policy and in a geographic sense.

The election of the Mulroney government in 1984 resulted in a marked increase in economic and military integration with the USA.

Economic integration found its expression around the issue of free trade with the USA: If implemented, it would seriously undermine Canada's sovereignty and independence.

Military integration finds expression in military alliances between Canada and the USA. NORAD, the North American Airspace agreement, opens the door to Canada's involvement in Star Wars, the renewal of US cruise missile-testing on Canadian soil, despite the agreement to end it with the elimination of INF, and to the White paper on defence which would integrate Canada's naval strategy to the polar strategy of the Pentagon. These and other measures would open the door to tying Canada hand and foot to US imperialist policy.

These military alliances with US imperialism would place Canada in

the front line were the reactionary forces of US imperialism to undertake its Star Wars first strike nuclear strategy.

These and other developments have aroused growing opposition amongst Canadians and have given new impetus to the demand for an independent foreign policy. The demand for a change of policy and for a change of government is gaining in strength. It could find reflection in the coming federal election either in 1988 or 1989.

Concern about the present international situation has stimulated peace actions and the coming together of all peace movements in Canada around the Canadian Peace Assembly.

It has compelled the Liberal Party to restate its recently held convention policy, that of ending US cruise missile testing on Canadian soil.

It has compelled the New Democratic Party in its defence statement to come out against NATO and NORAD, against US cruise missile testing on Canadian soil, for making Canada a nuclear-weapons-free zone, making the North and Arctic nuclear-weapons-free zones and for the demand to cancel the decision to build 10 nuclear-powered submarines.

It has compelled the Canadian Labour Congress to declare its intention to campaign for making Canada a nuclear-weapons-free zone.

It is on this basis and with an eye to a coming federal election that the Canadian Peace Assembly has undertaken a peace pledge campaign directed at compelling every candidate in the coming election to declare themselves on the concrete aspects of an independent foreign policy.

In this connection it would be useful for all the Communist and Workers' parties adjoining the North and the Arctic zones to coordinate their efforts against militarization of the North and Arctic zones. Our Party has called for making the North and Arctic nuclear-weapons-free zones, a demand we are sure expresses the views of other parties in that part of the world.

We welcome comrade Gorbachev's statement made in Murmansk about making the North and Arctic zones of peace.

This statement combined with positions advanced for other regions of the world demonstrates again the determination of the Soviet Union to strengthen the forces of peace in all parts of the world and push back the forces of war.

Our Party is mindful of the fact that Canada cannot be secure unless the world is secure. It therefore strives constantly to combine peace demands specifically related to Canada with peace demands of a universal character.

Our Party likewise strives to link up the fight for peace with the demand for social progress. A one-sided approach in either direction could fail to involve the working class as an active force for peace in the present complicated situation.

Not least we strive to combine the struggle for peace and against US imperialism with an active and energetic struggle against the neoglobalist policies of US imperialism.

Comrades,

Our delegation was very interested in the presentation by Comrade Gorbachev yesterday in which he called for new thinking. New thinking calls for deep thinking. As Comrade Gorbachev said "we are engaged in a search".

What areas should be looked into?

Is this a question of survival or does this also include fundamental questions of Marxism-Leninism as is suggested in some quarters. If so, one should be specific so that the questions involved can be debated.

It would be useful for our common effort to pin some of these questions down. Perhaps one way could be to hold a series of seminars over a period of time on such questions.

One such question is the place of Communist and Workers' parties in the rapidly changing world. We fully agree with Comrade Gorbachev's statement that "in the modern world the communist movement needs renewal and qualitative changes". Yes, there is a need for renewal and qualitative changes. This is why we also welcome the proposal "that Communist and Workers' parties, Socialists, Social Democrats and others join in the search".

We all need more thought on these questions.

I hope it will be possible to develop maximum cooperation here. The new situation demands it.

Again allow me to express the appreciation of our delegation on the organization of this international forum. It is being held at a good time, when the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is being celebrated here and in all parts of the world. It is also being held at a time when perestroika and glasnost are changing the image of socialism and making it an ever more attractive force in the world. The changes opening up are making the Soviet Union a magnet both in the fight for peace and in the fight for social progress. We wish the CPSU, the peoples of the Soviet Union further successes in their great effort.

Member of the National Committee of the Association for Communist Unity in Australia

Bill BODENHAM

Comrades, I bring greetings to this historic gathering from the Association for Communist Unity in Australia—the Association of which the late Pat Clancy, leading Australian communist in the international working class movement, was a founding member. Despite the recent loss of Pat Clancy, our Association continues its work for the socialist vision we have for Australia.

The Great October Socialist Revolution broke the imperialist chain and provided hope and inspiration for the working class of the world, and it surely was as John Reed wrote "The 10 Days That Shook The World".

The first decree by the world's socialist government was a declaration for peace and it is matched 70 years later by the call to rid the world of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

The reactionary Australian government of 1917, however, did not answer the Soviet's call for peace but rather sent troops to participate in Churchill's infamous call to strangle the Bolsheviks at birth. Militant working-class leaders and others in Australia at the time waged a mass campaign in support of the Revolution under the slogan of "Hands Off Russia". Seventy years later we now call for "Peaceful Coexistence with the Dynamic and Powerful Socialist World".

Comrades, based on their own experience of struggle and having tried and tested other so-called revolutionary theories, the decision of the advanced workers to form the Communist Party of Australia in 1920 was very largely influenced by the immense and profound success of the October Revolution. For the next 50 years or so the Communist Party of Australia as a united body fulfilled the role of the type of party Lenin and his Bolshevik comrades had fought for. Seventy years later the socialist world stands as proof of the correctness of their policies, and the vital role of a party based on the scientific principles of Marxism-Leninism in executing the fundamental change toward the new world of socialism has been borne out over and over again.

Since 1949 with the exception of two brief periods, including the present one, Australia has been ruled by reactionary conservative governments. In this year, 1987, the social democrat Labor Party was re-elected for a third term.

As the crisis of the capitalist system deepens worldwide, it also of course affects Australia and the contradictions of capitalist society intensify. In a population of about 16 million, we now have 30,000 millionaires and 800,000 unemployed. 1% of the population own 25% of the national wealth.

As we approach 200 years of European settlement, the aborigine people still remain without the simplest, basic treaty recognising 40,000 years of ownership of the land.

These contradictions flow into industry as well. Having now reached the point where Australia is the largest coal exporting country in the world, the capitalist owners are prepared to sack 8,500 workers.

As is to be expected, the right wing leadership of the social democrat government are trying to solve the insoluable problems of capitalism at the expense of the working class. But they are running into growing opposition mainly from our powerful trade unions.

Communists, including members of our Association, hold leading positions in important unions and exercise some influence in the national and state trade union centres. In fact, 55% of workers in Australia are unionised and 2.5 million belong to unions affiliated to the largest national centre, the Australian Council of Trade Unions. At the 1987 Congress of the ACTU the left increased its presence on the Executive by 3 persons.

It is our Association's view that any analysis of the Australian situation must take into account the importance and potential and the practical role of the trade union movement. An example would be the proposal by the present government to sell off many of the state-owned enterprises. These proposals were rejected outright at the ACTU Congress by over 1,000 delegates. The government at this stage has been forced to stay its hand.

The most powerful and influential union in the building industry, the Building Workers' Industrial Union, of which the late Pat Clancy was a long serving National Secretary, continues under the leadership of the members of our Association despite savage attacks from the right and the Trotsky-inclined disorientated left.

It is interesting to note that over the last few years, as the bosses and what we term the new right have increased their attacks on the working class movement, there has been a corresponding surge of activity from the Trotsky forces to push themselves into leading roles in vital industrial disputes. But thankfully their influence is minimal. As a worker in industry myself, I have a personal interest in Australian labour history and, comrades, it is a little publicised fact that exiled Bolsheviks played an active role in the Australian trade union movement.

I believe their names were Artem Sergeyev, Vasily Tranovich, Tom Pikunov and Boris Rosenberg. The year was 1907 and from all reports they returned home to help build socialism following the Revolution. This year, therefore, is not only the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, but to some Australians, it is also the 80th anniversary of the Bolshevik influence on our labour movement.

Comrades, the economic pressure imposed by international monopoly on Australian economic life is matched by political pressure. Australia,

through its military alliance with the United States, is forced to accommodate naval and airforce bases across the country and a satellite tracking station in the centre of our continent.

It has been said before that aggression in its mildest form can be reduced to the pointing of the gun. War is nothing less than the pulling of the trigger. And this tells the story of our alliance.

But Australian people in their hearts want peace. They, like the Soviet people, have seen enough of war, of British colonial wars, of the war against fascism, and the unjust wars of Malaya, Korea and Vietnam.

The people of Australia are becoming more and more aware of the dangers of allowing foreign bases on our soil. The education of the people of the functions of those so-called joint facilities is making more Australians question this one-way alliance with the United States of America. The campaign against these bases is being intensified by the Peace Movement, with demonstrations taking place against the "Pine-Gap" installations this past October, and we will endeavour to make the issue of foreign bases on our soil an even more important political issue for the immediate future.

Every year hundreds of thousands of Australians march in what we call "Palm Sunday" peace rallies for A World at Peace and Free of Nuclear Weapons.

The Association considers as its most cherished honour to have in its ranks a good number of the most active peace workers in Australia and around the world.

We are similarly proud to have activists in the women's movement, some of whom played a leading role in the Australian delegation to the World Congress of Women in Moscow this year.

We are about to actively participate in the further development of the Youth Festival Movement. Already our young cadres are drawing up their programmes for Pyongyang.

The former strong and united communist movement in Australia in recent times has suffered under the ideological offensive of imperialism with its sophisticated and sinister campaign of diversion and distortion of the aims and ideals of the movement for socialism. Fragmentation of the movement has taken place.

We in the Association for Communist Unity come here not in a spirit of competition with our comrades in other sections of the Australian communist movement. Rather it is our bounden duty to do all that we can to draw the various segments of the movement together and help re-establish a Marxist-Leninist Party of unity and action working in close cooperation with large sections of the Labor Party and the Trade Union movements which are moving significantly for a change of direction in Australian politics.

The working class needs such a Party, such a strong and consolidated force to achieve its current demands and future developments.

The Association for Communist Unity in Australia will be particularly interested in Comrade Gorbachev's pointed reference to Trotsky and Trotskyism in the historical sense. "Trotskyism was a political current whose ideologists took cover behind leftist pseudo-revolutionary rhetoric," he said. Some Trotskyist trends in Australia today are up to similar tricks. Their internationally-trained leaders, sensing the mood of the people and the growing strength and influence of the Soviet Union and socialist ideas, have now been canvassing the point that they have allegedly "broken their connections with the Fourth International" and have watered down their hitherto vicious anti-Soviet propaganda. This they have done to accommodate the sentiments and emotions of the many young activists they have attracted to their ranks by pseudo-revolutionary posturing and adventurist tactics.

The Association for Communist Unity in Australia will have no truck with such Trotskyist manoeuvres but will do everything possible to win away from this treacherous movement the many fine young people who are presently caught up in the ferment of social change.

At the National Committee meeting of the Association for Communist Unity on October 10th and 11th a decision was taken to intensify that struggle, and we have set ourselves a task that by the time of our June National Conference in 1988 we will work for one united Australian working class party based firmly on the principles of scientific socialism. We believe this is the immediate need of the working people in Australia.

We know that the task ahead for us would have been tremendously more difficult without the event of the Great October Socialist Revolution which turned dreams into reality; this is acknowledged by us all.

So in conclusion let me say—thanks again for your invitation to attend, thank you for your attention.

Long live the Communist ideal! Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

CC Secretary of the Communist Party of Bangladesh

Ajoy ROY

Dear comrades,

Please accept the heartiest greetings from the people and communists of Bangladesh. The fact that the representatives of communist and workers' parties, social-democratic parties, parties of revolutionary democracy and national liberation movements have assembled here on the eve of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is of historic importance and will certainly positively influence the movement for peace, democracy, social progress in coming days. We earnestly thank the CPSU for this invitation.

Comrades, you know our country is one of the countries of the periphery where not only the neo-colonial grip and exploitation of imperialism is increasing every day, but the pattern of development of dependent capitalism thrust on it at the instance of the imperialists is daily pushing the country further to the abyss of stagnation, crisis, and instability. And this crisis is further intensified with the thrusting of the burden of the deepening crisis of the metropolitan countries on the shoulders of underdeveloped countries like ours and the ever escalating arms race in the interests of the military-industrial complex. Even backward countries are being drawn into the orbit of the arms race on various pleas, such as disputes with neighbouring countries, etc. In our part of the world, in the Indian Ocean, in South East Asia and the Pacific, more specifically in South Asia, the intransigent activities of imperialism aimed at further militarisation and increase of their military presence are well known. It will not be out of place to mention that our country is also not excluded from their blueprint of so-called security of imperialist interests.

The tasks that are being posed before the democratic movement by the whole situation, particularly because of the continued existence of the military rule, naked or veiled, aimed at consolidation of the interests of imperialism and local reaction are becoming more and more difficult for the bourgeois democratic forces to tackle. Moreover, imperialism and local reactionaries are also escalating the problems, such as ethnic troubles, of the backing reactionary and religious fundamentalist forces often of neo-fascist character, provoking disputes with neighbouring countries aimed at consolidation of their narrow mass base. All these progressive forces, particularly the communists are faced with the task of building up and spearheading the widest possible mobilisation of democratic, patriotic and progressive forces against imperialism and its henchmen. It is with patience that the communists must fulfil this task, even in some cases nurse these forces. From our experience we can say that in countries like ours this con-

crete task has to be solved by the communists for further development of the national liberation movement. Moreover, in view of the increasing intervention by imperialism anywhere it thinks necessary under the guise of so-called neo-globalism, international co-operation of all peace-loving, democratic and progressive forces, particularly co-operation of such forces on the regional level is becoming more and more important. The Communist Party of Bangladesh supports all initiatives of the governments of Afghanistan and Kampuchea for an end of the intervention from outside by imperialism, its henchmen and other forces. We attach special importance to cooperation of communist and other democratic and progressive forces of SARC countries. We also support the initiatives of the Nicaraguan government for ending the intervention backed by the USA and also the struggle of the brave people of South Africa and Palestine.

The dialectical relation between the movement for the stabilisation of peace and the national liberation movement is a point which is daily becoming important to communists and progressives of countries like ours. In spite of the continued efforts of the Soviet Union, the CPSU and other socialist countries, in spite of all the initiatives by Comrade Gorbachev, in spite of the broadening of the peace movement, the efforts of the non-aligned movement, the initiatives of the Delhi Six, and in spite of some success in certain areas such as the signing of the Rarotonga Treaty in South Pacific, imperialism and particularly the aggressive ruling circles of the US have not given up their efforts and designs aimed at escalating the arms race further, extending it into outer space, stationing armed forces throughout the world in order to encircle the Soviet Union, stockpiling nuclear and other dangerous weapons, intervening wherever they feel necessary and violating all international laws and norms. It is true that the recent announcement that a summit meeting between Gorbachev and Reagan is going to take place in December 1987 is no doubt heartening news, but the danger posed by imperialist intransigence still remains. In this age of scientific and technological revolution what danger is posed before mankind has repeatedly been brought out by Comrade Gorbachev, the CPSU and others. It is against this background that the efforts for the stabilisation of peace must be redoubled and all potentials for broadening the peace movement must be utilised. From our experience we can say that the possibility of further broadening the movement for peace has not been exhausted. And it is against the background of this task that this meeting acquires historic importance, and we totally support such moves on the international and regional levels. The conference of the communist and workers' parties in July for security of Asia and the Pacific region can be mentioned in this connection. That conference did play an important role in consolidating forces of peace in that region.

Seventy years have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolu-

tion. Those momentous seventy years witnessed not only the consolidation and development of socialism in the USSR but the flourishing of a world socialist system. Socialism has achieved tremendous achievements in material and cultural development. And for further continued development of socialism, without any doubt, the present efforts that are being made in the Soviet Union, aimed at overcoming the past shortcomings and accelerated development assume historical importance. The theoretical implication of these steps and efforts are also of great importance to all communists and progressives, and these will strengthen not only the Soviet Union but also the anti-imperialist progressive movements everywhere. New chapters are going to be added, glorious chapters on the onward march of humanity towards peace and socialism.

Chairman of the Communist Party of Denmark

Ole SOHN

We thank you for the invitation to take part in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. We believe that this celebration provides a most suitable occasion for an exchange of views on the issues facing the international workers' movement.

On the one hand, the October Revolution has been and remains the greatest event of our epoch. It is now acquiring an increasingly substantial and inspiring significance. Your perestroika has evoked a tremendous response everywhere.

On the other hand, the internationalization of all the aspects of society's life is manifesting itself more vigorously and significantly than ever before. The decisive fundamental issue of our time—the guarantee of mankind's survival—has a distinctly international character. This makes us take a fresh view of the entire complex of international relations, stimulates a new way of thinking and demands new approaches from us all, including the world communist and workers' movements, which build their activities on the basis of internationalism and, by virtue of this, are an integral part of the world's development.

We feel that our movement is not fully using its strength and potential and that it is insufficiently meeting the demands of our day. In particular, we find it somewhat odd that the Communist and workers' parties cannot agree on holding a conference or taking joint actions while representatives of many other movements of different political orientations manage to do this very well. But no one will deny that new questions have appeared on the agenda.

In our view, whenever representatives of parties having a common ideological foundation meet in session or hold a conference, especially on the questions of a new way of thinking and its putting into practice, this cannot be interpreted as self-isolation. Independence, sovereignty and equality have long been acknowledged as a basis for relationships between Communist parties.

These parties unite on the common ideological platform laid down by Marx, Engels and Lenin. It must develop and is developing through struggle, which, just as the event that has brought us together here, has been advancing. And the ideological platform itself is being formed in the course of struggle.

The significance of ideological struggle has grown substantially in our time. The ways of development have increasingly been determined by the forces which work to secure political and ideological, rather than military superiority.

Why could we not develop, in the future as well, the imperative unity through our joint contribution to the solution of burning problems? For, formerly, this promoted our advance. Wouldn't it be in our common interests to organize the study of the mechanisms of state monopoly capitalism and of the functioning of imperialism in our time? Wouldn't visits by delegations of Communist parties to fraternal parties in the various trouble spots of the world serve to promote internationalism?

If the Communists clearly and convincingly show, both by words and by deeds, what they stand for, they will not only not harm their cause, but, on the contrary, will further the development of the struggle for the solution of the central questions of our time on a very broad basis, which is what they are really striving for.

This will also be conducive to the development of dialogue between the Communists and representatives of other trends in the workers' movement. And this dialogue only stands to gain from being conducted in such a way that furthers an understanding of common interests and respect for different viewpoints and that prevents misunderstandings.

We applaud the successes scored in the struggle for peace, which seemed impossible just a few years ago. These successes are the achievement of all peace-loving forces. Yet the outstanding role played by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev in their achievement, and in the promotion of the understanding of the possibilities and the tasks in the struggle for peace should justifiably be noted.

Our country is part of the northern region. Therefore, we and all of the Danish public welcomed Comrade Gorbachev's recent speech in Murmansk and the proposals he put forward there with special enthusiasm.

True, Denmark's Minister of Foreign Affairs almost immediately rejected these proposals. But he is not supported by a majority—neither in Parliament, nor, in fact much less so, among broad sections of the population—and this is one of the reasons why the Danish government might be obliged to resign any time now.

Our Party has been in favour of creating a nuclear-free zone in the North of Europe for several decades now. This idea has been winning a growing number of advocates and is now supported by an absolute majority. New opportunities have been created for implementing the idea of such a zone. This will further the development of cooperation in the Baltic-Sea area and in the North Atlantic and will serve to spread détente to sea areas and merge that zone with other zones in Europe already free of nuclear and chemical weapons.

Experience shows that one of the prerequisites for strengthening peace is to make sure that detailed information be disseminated concerning the possible results of socialist countries' proposals if they were to be adopted. Therefore, we have recommended that the parliamentary com-

mission dealing with questions of the security policy establish direct contact with Moscow so as to avoid any future misunderstandings. There are signs that our proposal is meeting with support. Seeking to secure the broadest possible basis for decision-making on the questions of the struggle for peace, we have also proposed holding a conference of Parliamentarians of the Baltic countries in order to discuss all existing problems, including ecological ones. In this work a report by the Brundtland Commission, named for the Prime Minister of Norway, could play a big role. We believe that Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, would be a very suitable venue for holding such a conference.

No matter how obvious these ideas might be, their implementation requires effort and continued struggle. Even the well-known double-zero option is now being used as a pretext for picking up the pace of the arms race in conventional weapons. In this process the zone of peace in the North has been termed a "breach". Therefore, more can and must be done to neutralize the consequences of such speculations. It is necessary to secure, alongside the first results in the field of disarmament and détente, the adoption of fresh efforts that would signify a real breakthrough in the struggle for the cause of peace, reason and progress.

The Danish society is in a crisis. Both bourgeois and reformist policies have proved incapable of solving its problems, in large part due to the general crisis of the world capitalist system, the exacerbation of which has assumed an increasingly dramatic character.

It is important to impart to the class struggle the forms that are consonant with the spirit of the time. In our conditions, this means mounting on a broad democratic basis the struggle in defence of the vital interests of the working people, the country's sovereign rights, and against the domination of monopolies.

The struggle against the crisis serves to intensify the struggle for peace. It must be directed against the senseless squandering of means and resources for purposes of militarization, it must secure equitable economic cooperation, mankind's survival and the overcoming of serious global problems.

The struggle against the crisis is also part of the ideological struggle. If we want to consistently wage our struggle on a broad democratic basis, it is necessary to put an end to the inhuman practice of the ideological manipulation of the masses by the capitalists. To a great extent, the future depends on whether or not we have the sufficient resolve and strength to hold out against this ceaseless and strong pressure. For this, we must continuously work to strengthen the positions of socialist ideology and deepen the theory of scientific socialism on the ways of social development, and we must study socialism's experience and Marxist-Leninist ideas, and their practical application.

Our time provides new and increasingly favourable opportunities for showing the wealth and attraction of the ideas of socialism. They are an alternative to the gravitation towards mysticism, the fear of the future and to the trends that are close to fascism, which are supported by capitalism. Socialism in our time is the vehicle of all that is progressive and the defender of humanism and reason.

Therefore, the workers' movement cannot manage without the parties developing the traditions of the Great October Revolution.

General Secretary of the Socialist Party of Australia

Peter SYMON

Around this table we have a microcosm of the world labour and national liberation movements. Some represent socialist states and governments of the newly liberated countries. There are big parties and small, coming from countries at different stages of development and facing different problems although it is remarkable how similar many of the problems are and the ideas for their solution, for that matter. Nonetheless, there are different ideological positions and different approaches to various problems.

I hope that, although our meeting is informal and no resolution will be adopted, a common language and understanding will be found. We do not think ideological and political differences should be allowed to get in the way. If we can conclude that despite differences it was a meeting of brothers and sisters and that the world of labour and liberation is more united and that we understand one another better—I, for one, will be happy. And I think that those who coined the slogan, "Workers and oppressed people of the world, unite!" would also applaud us.

Fifty years ago the world was faced with the scourge of fascism. It took quite a few years before the danger was realised. Most of Europe was overrun before a front of opposition came into existence capable of standing up to fascism. As you know, millions lost their lives in concentration camps, in gas ovens and on the battlefields. Altogether something like 50 million people perished of which 20 million were the sons and daughters of the Soviet Union. Fascism and aggression also raised its head in the Pacific. Again, it took many years before an anti-fascist front came into existence and Japanese militarism was rolled back. For quite a few years the Chinese and Korean people fought Japanese occupation virtually alone and millions of people lost their lives because of the long delay in forging the necessary unity.

The lesson of this period is surely that unity of the anti-fascist forces came late in the day; it arose out of suffering and very often only after each particular country became itself the object of aggression and war. However, a common language was found and we all became stronger as a result—strong enough to defeat fascism.

Today, we face an even more deadly peril—nuclear war. Unlike the 1940s there is now no time factor, no months or years in which to get together. Either we get together before the missiles fly or it will be too late. That is the main significance of our times and the responsibility of our meeting.

Some will say that the best prevention is deterrence. It is an argument

that was used before nuclear weapons. In the past it was argued that bigger navies or more and better planes and tanks would deter aggression. The fact is that weapons did not prevent war. They made war inevitable. History does not know any occasion when the piling up of armaments eliminated war. There were and are now those who make profits of armaments and of war, too, for that matter. Profits and power are also a consequence of war as well as of death and suffering.

Nuclear war will be definitely ruled out, however, if there are no nuclear weapon stockpiles—no warheads and no missiles to deliver them. We warmly welcome the proposed agreement between the USSR and the USA for the elimination of intermediate range missiles. Let it be the first swallow in the summer of disarmament.

But the voices of the representatives of this meeting and many other conferences will have to insist. It will be necessary to hold hands and march down the same street together.

When one looks at the incessant military preparations still going on, the build-up in the Persian Gulf, the intractable situation there and in other trouble spots—time may be short.

In this respect I would like to say something about the topic everyone is talking about—perestroika—and what it means.

For the people of the Soviet Union it means better living, more efficient and better services, more products on the shelves, a better quality of life, the development of socialist democracy and much else. We can be very glad on that account. But it also means that the prestige of socialism will grow internationally and its proposals for peace and for the solution of other world problems will be more influential. My organisation sees the Soviet Union and the other socialist states as that power in the world which consistently, and with persistence and flexibility, works to find peaceful and reasonable solutions to international problems.

For example, the comprehensive Soviet proposals put before the world in July 1986 in Vladivostok provide a programme which, when it is implemented, will transform the state of affairs in the Asia-Pacific region. These proposals do not give the Soviet Union any unilateral advantage. They would benefit all nations. I say, "when it is implemented" and not "if it is implemented" because sooner or later the nations of this region must take the path of finding mutual solutions to common problems by way of dialogue which is the essence of the Vladivostok proposals.

I think there are other problems confronting us all upon which it is possible and necessary to find a common language. One of these is the preservation of the environment.

Humanity does not exist outside of and superior to nature but as part of it. The earth, our home, is not infinite even though the universe may be.

The air we breathe, the rains that fall and the oceans that surround the

continents do not know any national frontiers. Many of the environmental problems which are now accumulating are a consequence of rip, tear and drag methods and our lack of thought for the future. Furthermore, they cannot be solved by any one nation on its own. Environmental processes now being brought to our attention by scientists may be, in the long run, no less dangerous to life than nuclear weapons.

Problems of trade, communications, information exchange, the law of the sea and much else demand dialogue and internationally agreed upon policies. The interdependence of all of us is rapidly extending to more and more issues.

This conference of labour and liberation representing as it does those who are the builders and creators, the scientists and inventors, those who are for peace and progress, those who are striving to solve the problems of the people through democracy, reform and by more fundamental revolutionary changes, carries on its shoulders a considerable responsibility.

I would like to say a few words about the anniversary report of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev.

I welcome the historical survey and regard it as a restoration of the principles of historical materialism in the study of history which must be truthful and objective while at the same time making assessments of events and individuals on the basis of their contribution to the cause of the working class and socialism.

As a whole, we see the report as a reaffirmation of Leninism in both word and deed in the life of the Party. This is of great importance to all communists and to the labour and liberation movements in general.

In welcoming the extended representation at this meeting we also believe that the concept of the international communist movement remains valid and it should not be liquidated. It has a specific role to play. The international communist movement as such and the Socialist International can and should cooperate on issues held in common.

Furthermore, Marxism-Leninism remains a totally relevant doctrine whose ideas and theories guide us every day in our work. We do not know of any other doctrine capable of liberating humanity.

I would like to thank our hosts for their hospitality and for providing this excellent opportunity for dialogue, to find the way to agreement and unity leading to common actions. The Socialist Party of Australia is working to implement this approach in our country so that the peace-loving and progressive forces reach their full potential.

We are optimistic that the next century will be one of peace and disarmament, a century for living and the creation of a world society which leaves barbarism behind for ever. Real civilization will then have truly begun.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Colombia

Gilberto VIEIRA

We would like to begin by greeting the initiators and organizers of this informal exchange of opinions taking place within the framework of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution.

We realize why the questions of a global character are arousing so much interest at the present time. Considering the growth of the contemporary world's interdependence, it will be impossible to solve them if the complicated problems facing the numerous groups of countries are ignored.

A subject of our reflections is achievement of genuine democracy in Third World states that have recently won their political independence. Full national liberation, active self-determination, and the choice of the best ways of development and social progress are all bound up with democratization and the expansion and deepening of political and socio-economic democracy. For us, Communists fighting to carry out revolution on the basis of Lenin's ideas, these problems are of immense importance.

Imperialism has been trying to hinder democratization in every way. It will use any means that perpetuate backwardness and obscurantism to try to obstruct the development of the struggle of the masses.

In this regard, Colombia's experience can be instructive. In 1984 the government signed agreements on a truce with the guerrilla movement which initiated a dialogue between them as well as changes and socio-political reforms within the structure of the traditional bi-partisan regime. In view of the deep-rooted practice of reactionary violence, these agreements did not provide for the guerrillas surrendering their arms.

The ceasefire, as a symbol of rapprochement and search for political solutions, immediately came up against distrust and open opposition on the part of the bellicose upper crust of the armed forces. Reaction, including big landlords, representatives of big capital and the old authoritarian bi-partisan regime, aided and abetted militarism and encouraged the tendencies aimed against what came to be known as the process of pacification.

Imperialism and the more reactionary leaders of the Pentagon, including the US South Command located in the zone of the Panama Canal, act in much the same way. A few months ago, General Galvin, who had earlier been in charge of that Command, brazenly declared in Bogota that the ceasefire merely served to intensify the subversive activity.

In reality, however, the dialogue and ceasefire meant the emergence of new political conditions and furnished the possibility for ever wider strata of the population to participate in the struggle of the masses and permitted

launching a broad discussion of socio-political reforms aimed at a democratization. In this situation, there has been a build-up of the people's forces in the mainstream of the struggle for democratic unity and a new level of working-class solidarity achieved as a result of the establishment of central workers' union.

The main issue under discussion now is not the question of whether or not it is necessary to implement radical reforms, but what specific aims should be pursued in their implementation and how to overcome the passivity of the Parliament controlled by the bi-partisan majority. In reality, the one and only significant reform is the first election of the alcaldes (mayors) by the public, which is set for March 1988.

Reaction and militarism have been trying to prevent the expression at these elections of the new moods, sentiments and views of the people and bring about a lessening of the influence of the Liberals and Conservatives; they are intent on preventing a merging of the protest against militarism with the civil, popular and democratic demands.

In order to stop a swift upsurge of the people's movement and a build-up of forces for national unity, reaction has launched a counter-offensive. This has taken the form of a plan for the elimination of individual revolutionary leaders and activists, of trade-union and popular leaders, churchmen, journalists and democratic public figures. Involved in the realization of this plan is the military intelligence, which is linked to the groupings of big landlords and capitalists, and to drug dealers who are bankrolling the formation, arming and activities of paramilitary bands composed of former servicemen, policemen and hired thugs.

The most shocking thing is that the Virgilio Barco government is unable to put an end to the wave of political assassinations, to explain the disappearance of citizens or the torture being used by state agencies. Investigations of crimes come up against "military laws", the helplessness of civil-law justice and the complicity of officials and army units in the murders, which enables the terrorists to act with impunity.

All this leads to the exacerbation of the most obvious contradiction of Colombia's political system, the one between the democratic façade, the elective bodies of government and state authority and the corresponding formal juridical structure of a law-governed state, on the one hand, and the reality of the terrorist regime employing fascist methods and acting under the cover of those existing institutions, on the other.

As experience has shown this is done not in order to outlaw the Communist Party, the Patriotic Alliance and other forces, but to physically liquidate their more valuable cadres, unleash a "psychological war", spread panic among the intermediate strata of the population and split the popular movement.

Attempts are being made to deal blows against the guerrilla movement

in Colombia, which has not been defeated either militarily or politically, in order to improve the conditions for carrying out an "inner war" against it.

What we are confronted with is a sort of pre-emptive counter-revolution, the squaring of accounts with the mounting popular movement, a series of manoeuvres with the object of thwarting the truce, of putting an end to reconciliation and of letting loose a "dirty war" and repression everywhere.

We would like to call your attention to this example of domination based on a combination of a democratic façade and state terrorism which imperialism has been trying to firmly establish in Colombia.

Two salient features should be singled out.

—The creation by the Central Intelligence Agency and the Drug Enforcement Agency of a secret mechanism allegedly for the struggle against the drug racket. Evident here are new forms of US interference with backing from the local militaristic circles, including the armed forces.

—The weakness and inconsistency of the Virgilio Barco government in the struggle against political violence and in the implementation of the slogan about enhancing the role of civilian government advanced during the election campaign. This leads to endless concessions of a reactionary character which virtually promote the pursuit of the "dirty war". One example of this is the government's indecision on the question of disbanding the 138 paramilitary groups whose existence it admits. The adventurous military are taking advantage of its weakness and vacillations for imposing upon the country a course suitable to them.

At the same time, certain positive factors have appeared in Colombia that are conducive to a growth in the people's anti-militaristic struggle. A process of unity is developing among widely diverse forces, including the Catholic Church, which has offered to act as a mediator between the guerrilla detachments and the government, the progressive sections of the governing Liberal Party and the Conservative Party, the civil movements in defence of human rights, trade-union forces both within and outside the Central Workers' Union, some capitalist economic organizations, various trends and currents of the intelligentsia, journalists, University professors, teachers and students, young people, and various left-wing forces affiliated with the union. At its call a unifying meeting of Colombians will be held in early December.

The Simon Bolivar National Coordinating Centre encompassing all the guerrilla groups in the country has been established. This is a new positive phenomenon exerting a strategic influence on public opinion, first of all because the National Centre openly proclaims its readiness to pass over to a new stage of dialogue with the government in order to search further for a political way out of the impasse.

Many people are convinced that thanks to the combination of multi-

farious factors, the mounting and increasingly active and sweeping actions by the mass of the people, the coordination of efforts, and unity it will become possible to put an end to the "elimination plan" and to the "dirty war". International solidarity, which manifests itself through all sorts of actions aimed at exposing and denouncing, and through protests and pressure upon the Colombian government by international bodies and world public opinion is acquiring a new role. This solidarity can become even more effective if we succeed in having a UN-appointed human rights commission sent to Colombia as soon as possible.

Struggle against militarism, a tool of imperialist circles, against the arms race on the continent, and against the doctrine of national security occupies a prominent place in the struggle for democracy.

Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Congolese Party of Labour

Jean-Michel BOKAMBA-YANGOUMA

Comrades,
Dear friends,

The occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution comes at a time when the international situation is a source of great anxiety to the peoples and countries loyal to the ideals of freedom, justice and peace. The Great October Revolution is closely linked with the defence of peace and the principles of genuine cooperation with due regard for the interests of every partner. The fact that the first decree of the revolutionary government was the Decree on Peace is not only a symbol, but also represents a programme and a concrete pledge to fight for peace. The call issued by the Russian revolutionaries in 1917 remains more than topical in the face of the dangers threatening the world today.

The international situation is still primarily characterized by a sharp deterioration of the political and economic situation, numerous continuing conflicts and instability in a number of regions of the world. The practices of domination and resorting to force, aggression, occupation, pressure, economic coercion, and interference are a flagrant violation of the principles and goals of the charter of such an international organization as the UN and are largely behind the deterioration of the international situation and seriously threaten peace and international security.

The economic situation in many developing countries is becoming increasingly critical, while the gap separating them from the developed countries is widening. The heavy burden of debt is generating great social tensions in many Third World countries.

Our Party believes that disarmament, respect for the rights to self-determination and national independence, the peaceful settlement of disputable issues in accordance with the provisions of the UN Charter and the strengthening of peace and international security are all connected.

The advent of nuclear weapons has cardinally changed the traditional conception of military questions and those of international security. Nuclear weapons are not merely a means of warfare, they are weapons of mass destruction that jeopardize mankind's existence. Indeed, never before have people wielded a material force capable of annihilating the whole world in a short period of time; never in its centuries-old history has humanity gone through a situation fraught with such grim prospects for its future. Thus our common security is attainable today through effective disarmament measures, including an end to the arms race on Earth, especially in nuclear and chemical weapons, and the prevention of one in outer

space, and through the destruction of the immense stockpiles of nuclear and chemical weapons.

A consistent struggle for the prevention of a new world war, whose consequences are unpredictable, has been established as today's imperative for all mankind, for all the people of our planet.

Our Party has always believed that it is possible to avert a new world war and to advance towards real disarmament as a result of the concerted efforts of all peace-loving forces compelling imperialists to agree to constructive negotiations. This is why our Party hails the numerous persistent and constructive initiatives of the USSR, as well as the progress that has been achieved at the negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States of America. Here we would like to note the highly positive role of the efforts made by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev towards bringing about the signing of the agreement at the end of 1987 on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles.

Nevertheless, we consider it illusionary to reduce the issue of peace to just the field of disarmament and a cessation of the arms race. For the peoples of the Third World, the strengthening of peace also means the liquidation of the last strongholds of colonial domination and racist oppression, the full realization of the peoples' rights to determine their destinies, the provision of opportunities for their societies and economies to meet the ever-growing requirements of every person.

At present our African continent is confronted with problems that present a grave danger to peace and are greatly holding back development. In its southern part there persists a situation that not only is a challenge to mankind's collective conscience, but also is a serious threat to peace and international security. The racist white-minority regime in South Africa daily perpetrates acts of genocide against the black population in the country and against all those fighting against the criminal and anti-human system of apartheid. South Africa commits numerous acts of aggression against the front-line states and other independent countries in the region; it recruits, finances and trains subversives for undermining the revolutionary governments in the People's Republics of Mozambique and Angola, impedes the process of Namibia's independence, occupies part of the territory of the People's Republic of Angola and thus prevents the African countries of this region from concentrating their efforts on solving the questions of economic and social development.

South Africa is illegally occupying Namibia. Our Party condemns the manoeuvres being made by South Africa and its allies in order to prevent Namibia from quickly gaining independence. South Africa's renunciation of all efforts towards acquiring nuclear weapons is essential for the preservation of peace.

In the northwest of the continent the Saharan people are waging an

armed struggle for winning their right to self-determination. Numerous seats of tension continue to exist in other parts of the continent.

In the economic field, the Congolese Party of Labour notes with great concern that the international situation retains the imprint of the negative consequences of the continuing wide-ranging and deep-going economic crisis and is marked by an aggravation of imbalances and inequalities which are the result of the unjust and inequitable international economic system hindering the development of the Third World countries. Therefore, for the developing countries it is vital to begin the necessary restructuring of the international economic system for the establishment of a new economic order based on justice, equality, equal rights and common interests.

There is a continuing erosion of multilateral relationships, a withdrawal to bilateral negotiations for political purposes. The Congolese Party of Labour stresses here its deep concern over the numerous attempts to destroy and weaken multilateral relationships in general, and the system of the United Nations in particular.

The Chairman of the Central Committee of our Party, in his speech at the United Nations, paid a well-deserved tribute of respect to that organization and stressed that the Congo regards it as an indispensable instrument, serving peoples, countries and states.

In this global context, in which the devastating economic crisis plays the determining role, the situation in Africa merits special attention. This situation is today characterized by:

— a general fall in prices on all primary goods and the growth of prices on manufactured goods and equipment, aggravating the payments deficit;

— the growing indebtedness, which is putting most countries on the brink of bankruptcy.

The Congolese Party of Labour holds that this situation is a direct consequence of the present-day international economic situation in the world, a result of the numerous manifestations of inequality existing within the framework of the unjust international economic order, the constantly widening gap between the developed and developing countries, the deepening of all kinds of asymmetries that characterize economic relations worldwide.

Various reforms imposed by international organizations have only deepened the crisis of foreign indebtedness afflicting the African countries as well as many other Third World countries.

The adverse consequences of natural calamities, such as drought, spreading deserts and famine, significantly exacerbate the tragic consequences of the world economic crisis for the economies of African countries and are causing extreme social tensions in many African countries.

In the face of this situation and the rather grim prospects it holds, the African peoples should, above all, rely on their own efforts and resolutely undertake joint measures towards recovering from the crisis, in particular, by implementing the programme of top-priority actions adopted by the UN special session and provided for by the Lagos Plan of Action. To this end, it is necessary to promote cooperation among the African countries, render mutual support and consistently protect our interests in the face of the transnational monopolies of certain developed countries that are exerting a decisive influence on price formation by controlling the main markets of primary goods.

But the African peoples also need the support of the world community and the forces of progress, and, especially, of the socialist countries headed by the great Soviet Union—the country of Lenin.

The Congolese Party of Labour believes that the solution of the cardinal problems now facing mankind can be achieved only through the concerted efforts of all peoples and countries in the world.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Lebanese Communist Party

Georges HAWI

Comrades,

This forum presents us with a rare opportunity to meet. We have gathered here in order to discuss our concerns and to express thoughts worrying us, answers to which none of us can find on his own. Indeed, a salient feature of the time we are living through is its complexity, and the multifariousness and interconnection of problems which makes it impossible to resolve them separately, with the aid of the ossified formulae and cut-and-dried recipes which we have been in the habit of resorting to for a long time now.

New thinking in the full sense of the word has become a vital necessity for resolving the problems facing the contemporary, so-called nuclear, epoch, when the issue of peace becomes the main problem uniting all who are concerned for the survival of the human race. And I am highly satisfied with the new thinking on the basis of which the Soviet Union approaches this problem for this creates the kind of a world-wide stream which is hard to withstand and is hard to ignore. We reaffirm our support for Soviet proposals on this question. It would not be an exaggeration to say that we rejoice in seeing with our own eyes that the entire Soviet Union is engaged in a spirited discussion of the questions relating to the development of Soviet society and the life of the Soviet people. It well may be that this discussion has not yet yielded all the solutions to the problems posed; but it represents a way towards searching out these solutions.

It should be admitted that our movement—the world communist movement—has, for some time past, been in a certain state of stagnation and to a large degree, lost its dynamism and forward thrust.

Lenin succeeded in creatively developing the ideas of Marx and Engels.

Thanks to the successes scored as a result of this creative development, mankind has entered a new epoch. Socialism triumphed in the Soviet Union and later in a number of other countries, and not only created a new, and advanced, mode of production but has ensured immense social gains for the peoples of these countries. By force of its example and through competition, it compelled the capitalist countries to go as far as to implement certain transformations; some of them found expression in the improvement of the social position of part of the working class, others expressed themselves in major scientific and technological advances.

Capitalism is fighting in order to survive; to this end, it mobilizes its whole potential. And we must admit that when socialism needed to make a fresh spurt forward and exert its every effort, it became obvious that there

were subjective obstacles restraining that spurt. This kind of deceleration came to pass in the socialist countries and also in the activities of the working class parties in the capitalist countries and, further, in the countries of the national liberation movement. Sometimes we witnessed the emergence of crisis phenomena there. The world situation has grown very complicated. Capitalism is in a state of a chronic and constantly deepening general crisis. The objective conditions conducive to revolutionary change increasingly mature in a number of countries despite all the difficulties besetting this process. However, the subjective factor which is called upon to lead the process of revolutionary change falls behind in its development.

In the ranks of the broad social forces capable of accomplishing these changes, especially among young people, there prevail moods of anxiety, indecision and despair. This gives scope to a revival of religious trends which pose as an alternative capable of carrying out these changes. Grounds develop for all sorts of obscurantism. The right-wing extremist danger grows; moreover, fascism is resurgent in some countries.

This is due to the fact that the crisis of capitalism is attended by a kind of crisis in the ranks of the revolutionary forces, the forces standing for change. It would be futile to seek for the cause of this phenomenon in any particular country or party. Beyond doubt, every party leads its own life and plays its own role; but the picture we observe is, undoubtedly, a typical one, for what is going on in the countries of socialism is tied in with the struggle of the working class in the capitalist countries and with the struggle of the revolutionary forces in the countries of the national liberation movement. And any malfunction in one of the links exerts an impact on the other links especially if a malfunction occurs in the main link.

It is necessary to resolve this crisis. It is necessary to update the concepts, programmes, methods and forces of revolution.

In this connection we hail what is taking place in the Soviet Union. Yes, perestroika is necessary. It is necessary to take a fresh look at life. And glasnost is indispensable.

These slogans hold not only for the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union plays the vanguard role in the communist movement and in the world revolutionary and workers' movements. The mistakes made in the Soviet Union have been exposed, in a realistic and revolutionary way, in the report delivered by Comrade Gorbachev at the gala meeting. When such mistakes were made they affected other fraternal parties too, although, naturally, in different forms.

Yes, what Comrade Gorbachev said at the outset of this important forum is one-hundred-percent true. A resurgence of the world communist movement is a must. Fundamental changes are long overdue in our fraternal parties just as in our movement as a whole. It is not enough just to loudly hail perestroika, it is necessary to carry it into practice, and this is a

task for each one in his own country, in accordance with the concrete conditions and specifics of each particular country.

Speaking of this, I would like to dwell specifically upon the situation in the Arab world where the objective march of events induces us to perform our historic revolutionary role; but the subjective conditions prevailing in our parties, do not permit this. Some of our parties have more and more noticeably been sliding into secondary positions; their isolation from their peoples increases, their organization weakens, and some of them develop deplorable splits... Note that this is taking place at a time when the Arab national liberation movement is in deep crisis aggravated by the fact that its source is the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois class nature of the forces which assumed the leadership of these parties back in the 1950s.

These forces have proved incapable of ensuring the fulfilment of the tasks of national liberation by reason of their inability to resolve the social problem in a revolutionary way in the epoch when the tasks of national liberation are interlinked with the tasks of economic liberation and social progress.

The slogans calling for the achievement of full liberation and Arab unity, and restoration of the legitimate rights of the people of Palestine and the wresting of our immense national wealth, especially oil, from imperialism's grasping hands, and the establishment of democracy and the achievement of social progress have now become slogans common to all the forces of the Arab national liberation movement. But the results achieved to date are downright disappointing. The question of Palestine has been going from one setback to another. Arab unity has not reached a stage of realization; even less, a minimal all-Arab anti-imperialist solidarity has not been achieved for frictions between Arab countries have been increasing and the threat to the internal unity of every Arab country has been mounting. This is exemplified by events in Lebanon and other countries. Conflicts erupt between some Arab countries and states adjacent to them, and the dangerous war in the Persian Gulf area is an example of this.

Today our national wealth is more than ever before at the disposal of the transnational corporations; dependence on imperialism in the economic sphere increases while democracy is dying... Socialism gives way to the so-called open door policy in the economic field...

Herein is the essence of the crisis. As to its other aspect, it is linked with the problem of a revolutionary alternative. The parties of the working class and other revolutionary forces do not put forward an adequate programme, neither do they wage a consistent struggle for its implementation. There is no doubt that these parties have been waging heroic struggles in all fields and it is equally beyond question that they constitute society's main transforming force. But these forces and parties must by all means become imbued with the new thinking. The communist movement in the Arab coun-

tries needs a renovation, our parties need qualitative changes, there is a need for an Arab revolutionary movement of a new type, capable of leading the Arab national liberation movement out of the crisis. Now that the bourgeoisie no longer has the strength to retain the standard of struggle, the working class and its allies must raise aloft this standard. Not only we communists are keen on this; this is of great concern to all revolutionary forces in our country. And it is vain to look for any role of these forces and hold them responsible for drawbacks if we ourselves do not perform our role and if we make more mistakes than anybody else.

Yes, indeed, new thinking consonant with the spirit of the time is a must. This accords not only with our strategic goals; it is also necessary in order to hold out against the fierce attacks to which imperialism and zionism have been subjecting our regions and especially the Palestinian people and its revolution, and the people of Lebanon and its progressive forces fighting Israeli occupation and internal counter-revolution, Syria, the Libyan Jamahiriya, Algeria and Yemen, and also the Persian Gulf area where we witness a dangerous and provocatory concentration of US and NATO naval forces, and other areas in the Middle East, and all progressive and national forces in the Arab countries and other countries of the region.

This will serve to further intensify the struggle of our parties and our progressive forces for peace in the whole world and in the region in order to make the Mediterranean Sea into a peaceful sea, free of nuclear weapons and naval forces.

That we have focussed attention on this main factor does not keep us from being completely in agreement with what other comrades propose. This especially concerns the main task—the cause of the struggle for peace, support for other Soviet proposals on this issue and a further search for the most effective forms of international solidarity with the struggle of peoples for their liberation and for the rout of imperialist aggression. For our part we, in Lebanon, need today, as never before, your internationalist solidarity in the struggle against Israeli occupation and against internal reaction linked with the Israeli aggressor. Our multi-levelled and diverse struggle, be it military, or political, or the struggle of the masses, will certainly be crowned with victory due to our resolve to carry on the battle, and thanks to your disinterested internationalist support.

Member of the CC Directing Council of All-People's Congress of Sierra Leone, Minister of State for Party Affairs

Edward T. KAMARA

The Sierra Leone delegation joins with the other delegates of the continent of Africa to express its solidarity with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Central Committee, the leadership and the entire people of the Soviet Union on this epoch-making occasion of the 70th annniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and also applauds the report of General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev because of his powerful messages, particularly in his offer of guarantee for world peace, as well as his determination to continue his struggle for the survival of humanity.

This is summarised almost at the end of his report which poses the question as to what the world would look like at the end of the First Century of Socialism. In answer to this question, the General Secretary observes that the foundations for the future are being laid today and pledges a number of things:

(1) that it is our duty to preserve our inimitable civilisation and life on earth;

(2) that it is our duty to create all the necessary conditions and promote the all-round development of the individual and the rest of humanity.

We venture to suggest that this pronouncement places a very heavy responsibility on the socialist movement because we cannot achieve these lofty ideals when a large majority of our peoples particularly in the southern part of Africa, still live under inhuman conditions. Surely, there can never be peace on this earth as long as the people of South Africa and Namibia are denied just freedom and independence and constantly placed under the oppressive yoke of the monstrous apartheid system. We must look for new, speedy solutions to these problems. We, therefore, fully endorse Comrade Gorbachev's statement that humanity is not doomed to always live the way it did before the 1917 October Socialist Revolution. We also endorse socialism's identification with the new values of truly human relations, freedom and equality instead of exploitation and oppression: these human relations depend on the true power of the people instead of the tyranny of the few and demand that the present generation be responsible for the fate of civilisation and life on earth.

Not so long ago the Soviet Union started initiatives towards world peace based on the removal of the atomic threat: it looked then like a vain effort, but today we are on the verge of the realization of that dream, which stands as a glowing tribute to the persistent efforts of the Soviet Union and its allies. And we wholeheartedly applaud these efforts.

We observe also that quite apart from the question of disarmament, the

Soviet Union is prepared to pursue in its discussions all issues pertaining to the equality of states, the threat to the stability of the Third World countries and the process of decolonization which militates against lasting world peace for us in the Third World in general and Africa in particular. The report of Comrade Gorbachev, his analysis of the present state of the world, and the realistic policies which the Soviet Union proposes in dealing with our many problems of the present and immediate future, constitutes a blueprint for the next century and mankind. We also note the internal development which is taking place in the Soviet Union itself on economic restructuring which, in fact, might provide a new example for developed as well as for developing countries facing similar challenges.

For those of us who are developing very slowly, this is bound to provide us with a new impetus and a new direction to look for; not only because of the inspiration it provides but also because of the help and guidance it offers. That is why we wish the Soviet Union every success in this direction.

It has been for us a great opportunity and an inspiring experience to participate in these epoch-making celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and we must record our appreciation to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and to all the organs of the Party. This has made it possible for us to share this great occasion with the Soviet people and has also provided us with an opportunity to re-affirm our commitment and solidarity with the heroic peoples of the Soviet Union and their allies.

Long live the solidarity among the progressive forces for world peace!

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Dominican Communist Party

Narciso ISA CONDE

Comrade Gorbachev,

I must confess that I was deeply moved by the phrase which defines perestroika as "a revolution of hope".

I don't think there can be a more accurate definition.

It is a simple and expressive one, and it aptly reflects people's profound hopes.

Your hope is also our hope.

We have been waiting for it so eagerly. And we appreciate it so highly.

We say that perestroika, together with glasnost, is also our hope not only because it is a stimulus to our communists, but primarily because this process backs up the theoretical principles and actions of broad revolutionary quarters in our country, in our continent and all over the world.

The most determined, the most progressive and the most honest forces of our countries have felt this new uplift because some of the dark clouds on the socialist horizon are being dispersed and a new dawn is breaking.

In realising the scope of the task ahead and the resistance that will need to be overcome in order to accomplish it, I must repeat here, Comrade Gorbachev, a quote from one of our beloved national heroes:

"NEVER BACKWARDS, FORWARD, ONLY FORWARD."

Dear Comrades and friends,

In the days of the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution perestroika is receiving a new impulse. Something new is also happening at this unusual meeting.

Without hiding our enthusiasm, we would like to join our efforts to what we take to be a common striving to overcome the language of diplomacy, hypocrisy and reserve so as to give more scope to frankness, criticism and self-criticism which should prevail among the forces of progress.

It seems to me that among the revolutionary and anti-imperialist forces of the Third World there is disagreement with the prevailing concept of a relationship between the struggle for world peace and the liberation of the oppressed peoples, between the movement against the threat of nuclear war and the struggle for revolution and revolutionary power.

Extremist reactionaries in America are pursuing a policy of war in various areas. Their aims are many: nuclear arms build-up, local wars, punitive operations and so on.

The threat of nuclear annihilation has reached unprecedented proportions, and it is clear that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, the

peace forces in Europe, Japan and the United States, and also all other opponents of the nuclear arms race are making an invaluable contribution to saving the world from catastrophe. All the anti-imperialist movements, including ours, are mounting vigorous actions in the same direction.

In the context of world struggles, the process of renewal in the Soviet Union has given rise to new initiatives and has produced positive results and examples of highly promising work of creation and innovation.

Communists and all the true revolutionary and progressive forces are resolutely campaigning against Reagan's neoglobalism, the military activity of imperialism and its plans in the field of nuclear arms.

Owing to concrete historical conditions, the experience gained, the resources available, and the specific conditions of struggle and forms of imperialist policy, this aspect of the peace struggle is particularly developed in the European socialist countries and many of the advanced capitalist countries, especially in Europe and Japan. It is developed much more than in the so-called Third World.

This is one of the results of uneven development, the presence of various forms of a policy of war and oppression, and also the presence of specific problems in these parts of the world.

The Third World countries are being affected by another aspect of the present-day imperialist war strategy, namely the concept of so-called low-intensity wars.

Besides, the Third World is suffering from a murderous economic policy. There is a real war of annihilation being waged with the help of International Monetary Fund and World Bank programmes, as part of the policy of plunder and establishment of domination by transnational corporations by way of direct investment, non-equivalent exchange, money-lending, debt conversion, the setting-up of "free" industrial zones and so on. This is happening in our country, the Dominican Republic, causing just uprisings for the right to live, the right to independence and freedom, and to a dignified peace.

That is why communists and revolutionaries all over the world, while realising the paramount importance of opposing the nuclear menace, must not confine themselves only to this extremely important problem; they must give every support and encouragement to all-out opposition against direct or camouflaged aggression and a policy of annihilation which imperialism and its local allies are conducting against the liberation movements with the help of low-intensity wars.

In other words, it is necessary to keep in mind that armed violence that the oppressed peoples have to use against the anti-guerrilla actions of imperialism and its allies, also constitutes a sign and a form of the struggle for peace. This is a kind of violence against violence, and it is in need of effec-

tive solidarity. **It is especially needed by El Salvador, as some time ago it was needed by Vietnam.**

It is a forced type of the struggle for peace. Just like the campaign against the threat of nuclear war, this struggle requires a firm military policy in order to avoid imperialist ascendancy in this field. Nuclear disarmament calls for unremitting efforts. Likewise, low-intensity wars call for massive popular action in the military field, solidarity with it, and also political and diplomatic steps aimed at weakening, isolating and defeating the enemy.

This struggle should not be viewed in the old way as **a spark which might lead to a thermonuclear conflagration.** It is the necessary counteraction to limit the spreading fire.

What extremes might imperialism have resorted to, if it had succeeded in destroying the Vietnamese revolution? The Sandinista National Liberation Front, the Farabundo Martí National Liberation Front and the Revolutionary Democratic Front can take the credit for stopping Reagan's escalating intervention following Grenada. But even greater collective solidarity is needed, if further success is to be achieved. Our movement, however, does not attach due significance to this issue. We fully agree that revolutions cannot be exported. But Reagan is openly exporting counterrevolution, and it is necessary to resist this.

Furthermore, it is necessary to overcome the "braking mechanism" which results in a revolution being understood as an accomplished victory rather than a starting or ongoing process. This was how progressive forces tended to regard revolution prior to the victories of the revolutions in Cuba and Nicaragua.

Conservatism must also be weeded out of our foreign policies, especially our attitudes to Latin American problems. This will be a perestroika too, as it will invigorate Leninist internationalism. Great efforts must be applied to ensure renewal within our parties which have not come to power and have achieved very modest results in the struggle. We need to overcome the burden of conservatism, dogmatism, anything that is hindering the formation of our revolutionary vanguard. The crisis situation demands that.

We are deeply convinced that if thorough debate and consistent practice produce a common and balanced position on the problem of relationship between the struggle for peace and for liberation, this will mark a great contribution to overcoming the lack of coordination and disunity which are causing harm to progressive forces on a global scale.

We are calling for undertaking efforts in this direction. Liberation, renewal and peace are inseparable up to the final victory.

Chairman of the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain

Ignacio GALLEGO

Dear comrades, friends,

This forum, convened on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, is attracting the attention of the whole world, especially of the working people on all continents. The Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain conveys gratitude to the CPSU for the invitation to attend this celebration and heartily congratulates the Communist Party and the Soviet people on this glorious anniversary.

We attach tremendous importance to our meeting, as this is a genuine *forum of peace and progress* which will undoubtedly evoke a response in each continent. We warmly greet all the communist, socialist and social-democratic parties, and also all the progressive and liberation movements present here. We listened to the substantial speeches by Comrade Gorbachev at the jubilee meeting and at this meeting which, to our mind, covered the main problems not only for the Soviet Union but for the entire world communist movement, all progressive and liberation forces, and the whole of humanity.

Seventy years ago Russia's working class in alliance with the peasantry shattered the chains of exploitation and opened up a new era in human history, the era of transition to socialism and the building of a society without exploiters or exploited, a society of peace, solidarity, culture and progress. Lenin's name is associated not only with the further crucial development of the scientific theory of Marx and Engels but with making this theory, which became the ideology of the working class, a historical reality.

This meeting is taking place at a decisive moment when here, in the Soviet Union, Leninism is proving its theoretical potential and the ability to embrace new phenomena originating in the present-day world. This is the time when socialism in all spheres of social life is entering a new stage, speeding up its economic development, promoting democracy, waging a truly offensive struggle for peace and nuclear disarmament, and proving its superiority. This is the time of perestroika.

We must say that perestroika and the dynamism which is now shown by the CPSU under Comrade Gorbachev's leadership are also promoting a better situation for our concrete struggle in Spain. The ideas of communism are spreading and the prestige of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries is growing. All this makes our work and the activities of all forces of peace and progress easier.

The Soviet Union has travelled a long road in the building of socialism. In different stages it has had to cope with difficult and at times seemingly

impossible tasks. The USSR has come under attacks from outside aimed at destroying it, but at the price of huge sacrifices it has honourably stood all trials, gradually building up its might, collectivizing the land, effecting industrialization, contributing decisively to defeating Nazism and saving our continent from it, and later launching peaceful exploration of space. Today the Soviet Union is in a new stage of revolutionary changes aimed at strengthening socialism and, as Comrade Gorbachev has said, making it more effective and corresponding more to Lenin's ideas.

Soviet government was born 70 years ago, and one of its first steps was the Decree on Peace which determined all the subsequent foreign policy of the Soviet Union. We have gathered at this forum at a time when, due to a whole series of peace initiatives made recently by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and also due to the growing peace movement all over the world, an extremely important step has been made towards removing the threat of humanity's annihilation. Medium-range and shorter-range missiles will be destroyed. The whole world is saluting this agreement and hopefully welcoming new proposals aimed at consolidating peace and reducing nuclear and non-nuclear arsenals. The Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain fully supports these proposals. They guarantee that humanity will enter the 21st century without nuclear weapons and without military blocs.

These days in large cities of Spain, just as in the rest of the world, there have been mass demonstrations for peace, for eliminating American military bases from Spanish territory, and for disarmament and Spain's withdrawal from NATO.

In its activities the Communist Party of the Peoples of Spain focuses on efforts for peace and disarmament. It supports all initiatives aimed at reaching this goal and realizes that in our times large numbers of people from various walks of life are striving for peace and détente.

We support all initiatives calling for establishing nuclear-free zones in Europe and in other parts of the world. We are for the Iberian Peninsula being completely denuclearized. We resolutely come out in favour of the Mediterranean becoming a sea of peace and cooperation among the coastal nations from where no aggression could ever be launched against any of the littoral countries.

With particular concern we are following reports about the potential establishment of a so-called Paris-Bonn military axis and about attempts to strengthen the Western European Union which poses an obvious threat to peace in Europe. We regard that both would make détente and peaceful coexistence in Europe more difficult to reach.

Our Party realizes that progress in the field of détente and disarmament would make it possible to ease the burden of military expenditures in the budgets of states and provide more funds for social needs, for combatting

unemployment and social poverty, for economic development, and for health care and cultural needs.

Without doubt, peace is the focus of humanity's global concerns but it is not the only problem which is causing the natural anxiety of the nations and all forces of social reform. We would like particularly to draw your attention to a problem that is a heavy burden for a large group of countries. Imperialist domination in international economic relations has placed the developing countries in a difficult situation. This is expressed, among other things, by foreign debts which are impossible to pay off. This situation has reached dramatic proportions in Latin America. We call for cancelling the foreign debts and establishing a new world economic order based on equitable and mutually advantageous economic and trade relations.

The capitalist countries are nowadays facing a growth of unemployment and poverty with all the ensuing consequences: marginalization and crime. The communist and working-class forces must jointly search for points of contact to bring about change in economic policy which is now producing such disastrous consequences, and to create conditions for protecting working people's interests from international corporations and monopolies.

At present transnational corporations—American, European and Japanese corporations—are quickly penetrating Spain. This is fostered by the present government's neo-liberal economic policy. With every passing day world capitalism and its powerful centres are taking control of an ever larger share of the Spanish economy. Spain's entry into the Common Market has accelerated this process which is causing abrupt and unexpected changes in the situation.

The social consequences of this policy have been the growth of unemployment which now stands at 21% for the able-bodied population and 50% for Spain's young people, the decline of people's living standards, and simultaneously fabulous profits obtained by the large banks and transnational corporations.

All this has resulted in more protests by the working people, clashes between the trade-union association led by the Socialists and the government, and the emergence of opportunities for unity of action by the Workers' Commissions and the socialist trade-union association.

The social and political situation in Spain, the large-scale protests by workers and students and also the widespread mobilization of forces for peace struggle—and all this in an increasingly interdependent world engulfed by the scientific and technological revolution and under threat of nuclear annihilation—all this calls for carrying out a theoretical analysis of the concrete new developments in order to work out a correct political programme for the workers and their allies. It calls for a strong communist

movement, a united movement connected with broad masses of people. It calls for a correct alliance policy.

All this is placing new problems before us, and we are convinced that we will be unable to solve them if we depart from Marxism-Leninism which is demonstrating its renewed theoretical potential, or if we stick to the old criteria and ignore the new developments with all their difficulties and possibilities.

We want to call attention to yet another substantial aspect of the present situation. This is cultural imperialism which poses a great danger to understanding among nations, understanding needed for peace struggle. Imperialist control over information and cultural colonialism make a thick net keeping the nations hamstrung. That is why we call for a new world information order.

At such a representative meeting as this one we would like to voice our unflagging solidarity with all peoples in Latin America, Africa, Asia and other parts of the world fighting against imperialism, for freedom and independence. We identify with the working people throughout the world which are struggling for social liberation, for peace and socialism.

I would like to conclude by saying that in our day the defence of peace coincides with the vital interests of all countries as never before. We Spaniards believe that to protect peace means to contribute to better relations between nations. And we are trying to improve relations between our nation and all other nations of the world. At this meeting in Moscow we want to express our wish for the Spanish people to keep strengthening their friendship with the Soviet people.

Chairman of the Inuit Ataqatigiit Party, Greenland

Arqaluk LYNGE

Dear Comrades,

I consider it a great honour from this rostrum to convey greetings from my party, Inuit Ataqatigiit, to the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I represent the socialist party of the world's largest island, Greenland. Greenland lies in the Arctic region and for many millennia has been inhabited by the Inuits (Eskimos), an ethnic group which has existed in severe climatic conditions, at the limit of human endurance. For thousands of years this ethnic group has inhabited Arctic areas from Chukotka, Alaska and Canada to Greenland. Now our ethnic group inhabits areas which belong to four different states. The unique thing, however, is that, notwithstanding, the entire group lives in similar climatic conditions, possesses one culture and is involved in the same type of economic activity which is sea animal hunting.

We, Greenlanders, live on the world's largest island and are invested with self-government but only as part of the Danish state and in conformity with its constitution.

We are a country which is in the process of development and has great plans for the future. Since the government of Greenland and the Landsting (Parliament) were formed in 1979, a programme has been under way to build up the fishing industry. Mineral development still remains in the stage of prospecting. All matters related to mineral resources are decided in a Greenland-Danish council in which either side is vested with veto powers.

Greenland is the only country to withdraw from the European Economic Community. This took place in February 1985. Instead, Greenland now subscribes to the Lomé Convention which determines the status of free trade zones. Greenland's pull-out of the EEC was carried out in complete understanding and cooperation with the Danish state. At the same time, Greenland signed a fishing treaty with the EEC for the next ten years, with the reservation that negotiations might be held once every five years with a view to amending the treaty.

Our small nation numbering a little more than 50,000 is now in full control of all the natural resources within a 200-mile zone.

On behalf of my party, Inuit Ataqatigiit, I extend heartfelt greetings to the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Since that October day when the *Aurora* shot signalled the start of the struggle against the oppressors, this event has been a source of inspiration for the world as a whole. The first great leader of the Soviet

Union, Lenin, made true a dream, a theory which, once realised, enabled the huge country with more than 100 nationalities and with language and cultural distinctions to live one common life with a common responsibility. This became possible thanks to a nationalities policy whose foundations had been laid by Lenin.

The struggle against capitalist exploitation does not end within the framework of one epoch. This is a process which shows itself all the time in our everyday life. The forms of the struggle depend on circumstances. We are trying to build a life free from colonialism and racism, based on equality for all people. This is the basis on which all the ethnic groups inhabiting territories within the Arctic Circle have been trying to build their lives. Others call this social set-up primitive communism. It could be for this reason that we, being a small ethnic group, have been able to survive for millennia. Another factor which has largely contributed to our survival as a small nation is, apparently, the fact that the Inuits (Eskimos) have never fought wars with other peoples.

The world today is closely interrelated, and we all depend on one another. We in Greenland have suddenly become aware that we live in a sphere of interests of two great powers. It is also a fact that there are American military bases in Greenland.

The speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Mikhail Gorbachev, at Murmansk on October 1 this year has had a serious impact on the situation in Greenland and is very important to all Eskimos, an ethnic group which constitutes a majority of the population of the Arctic regions of Alaska, Canada and Greenland. In respecting the integrity of their national states, these groups of people have set up an international organisation called the Inuit Circumpolar Conference (ICC), of which I am Vice-President. The ICC is promoting cultural relations between the Eskimos of Greenland, Canada and Alaska. It has long been expressing the wish for respresentatives of the 1,100 Chukot Eskimos to take part in the work of the conference so as to establish a Peace Bridge between the great powers. This is particularly important in the light of growing militarisation of the Arctic regions, of which Comrade Gorbachev spoke in Murmansk. We, people living in Arctic regions, read the Murmansk speech with profound interest and took it as expressing a realistic understanding of the situation and as such making for greater ICC involvement in the struggle for peace.

Our party, Inuit Ataqatigiit, is actively working for peace and against the growing militarisation of the Arctic regions. On our initiative, Greenland's Parliament passed a resolution in 1984 whereby Greenland is to become a zone free from nuclear weapons. A joint resolution is being drafted within the framework of the inter-parliamentary North Atlantic Assembly

aimed at creating a nuclear-free zone to include Iceland, the Faeroe Islands and Greenland.

The Executive Council and the President of the ICC, Mary Simon (Canada), asked me to convey their greetings to the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Mary Simon has sent General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev a letter which I want to quote from; she writes, in part:

"As people dwelling permanently in the Arctic, and in close harmony with the living environment, we are well aware of the dangers which threaten our region of the world. Inuit and other peoples of the Soviet North, we feel sure, share our concerns. We all speak as humans, regardless of national boundaries, languages or cultures, when we speak of peace.

"Our organisation has been active in promoting the cause of peace and the limiting of new military systems in Arctic areas. We have taken our concerns to the national governments of the United States, Canada and Denmark.

"Recently, you have suggested turning the Arctic into a 'zone of peace' and proposed East-West talks to restrict military activity in Northern seas. The ICC finds these concepts highly encouraging. Since your ideas were delivered in a nationally televised speech, October 1, 1987, at Murmansk, we look forward to more concrete proposals in this regard. We hope that future proposals would consider other Arctic areas, in particular those surrounding Alaska, Canada and Greenland."

So stated the ICC President Mary Simon, and she is proposing a meeting with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev to discuss these issues, among others.

As Chairman of our party, Inuit Ataqatigiit, I wholly support Mary Simon's efforts and voice the hope that they will be crowned with success. Among the nations fighting for peace and for preventing "all Northern countries from ever again becoming an arena of war" (as was said in the Murmansk speech), there are no small nations.

Our party also backs the idea of starting peaceful cooperation in developing the resources of the Arctic. Besides, we support the idea of creating an Arctic scientific council. This proposal accords with the ideas that the ICC has expressed over a number of years.

The proposal to convene a conference on these problems in 1988 appears all the more interesting as I am a minister of Greenland's local autonomy government responsible for housing. I have suggested holding a conference in 1988 on housing problems in the Arctic regions. At the moment I am preparing for it. Representatives of circumpolar states and also Iceland and the Faeroe Islands have been invited to the conference. I hope that the question of potential Soviet participation in the conference which is to be convened in the town of Aasiaat, will be solved positively.

Soviet Arctic areas are in a better situation concerning environmental protection and sea animal hunting which is traditional for the indigenous peoples of the North. They have not been affected by unjust protests as part of international campaigns conducted in the West by a movement in defence of animals. The Eskimos of Greenland, and also Canada and Alaska, are now in an extremely difficult situation resulting from the protest campaigns against walrus hunting, and walrus herds are many in our region. We have traditionally hunted walruses not only for skins but for meat and other needs.

Recently, a protest campaign was started against our whale-hunting. It is known that the reason for the nearly total disappearance of whales in the seas around our island has been the whaling activities that the Europeans have conducted in those parts for hundreds of years. The whale population has never been threatened by our national hunting whose sole aim has been to procure food for the population. Now there is protest against walrus hunting which is an important factor not only of our culture but our economy as well. This activity is harmed by protests against walrus pup hunting by the inhabitants of Newfoundland.

The result has been not only a decrease in export sources. The thing is that a quarter of Greenland's population has suffered from this economic sanction, and we have suffered more than the racist regime of apartheid in South Africa has suffered from the economic sanctions brought against it.

It is a disgrace for the whole of the so-called civilised world that the damage it causes to the environment is affecting a small people whose life is based on a profound realisation of the fact that it is necessary to live at one with nature and not fight against it. It is necessary to take into account this undeclared war against the basis of our existence, if living conditions in the Arctic are to be understood. A peace treaty must incorporate a provision respecting peaceful utilisation of the animal resources by our peaceful nation which poses no threat to the environment. Obviously, a treaty on environmental protection, like the ABM Treaty, has the right to exist.

In conclusion, I would like on behalf of the Inuit Circumpolar Conference and as a representative of the organisers, to invite the Eskimos of the Soviet Union to attend the next ICC conference which is due in the town of Sisimiut, in Greenland, in 1989. The ICC is prepared to discuss the terms of Soviet participation in the organisation's work.

On behalf of our party, Inuit Ataqatigiit, I greet all the Soviet people on their anniversary. I wish every success for the efforts to promote many-sided contacts between the peoples of Chukotka, Alaska, Canada and Greenland, and I want to convey special greetings to the "Uelen" Eskimo ensemble which visited Greenland in the summer of 1986.

May there be peace and humanity in relations between all people on earth.

General Secretary of the Workers' Party of Ireland

Sean GARLAND

Comrades and friends,

The Workers' Party of Ireland welcomes this opportunity to address this gathering assembled at the historic commemoration of the 70th anniversary of the 1917 Revolution.

There are episodes in human experience which leave indelible marks, which are a change not only in political experience and revolutions in social and economic organisation, but which also denote a new departure in philosophical and moral understanding of the human condition.

In spite of what the philosophers of reaction assert, revolutions, i.e. fresh comprehensions, do take place, human beings transcend their immediate historical environment and burst forth into a new dawn.

Such was the case in October 1917 in Russia and the effects of 1917 are still manifesting themselves in the Soviet Union.

Were it otherwise, it would be all too obvious to conclude that the Revolution had failed. However, the now global concepts of "perestroika and glasnost" indicate that the revolutionary political, economic and moral vitality of the "10 days that shook the world" are still reverberating not only throughout the USSR but also impacting, paradoxically, on the constant enemies of socialist freedom and human triumph. The Western "free press" has assiduously seized upon the so-called new departures in the Soviet Union with a tenacity which those of us working for revolutionary socialist change in Western Europe find puzzling, or to be more accurate, amusing.

Where in the past the USSR was an enemy because it allegedly denied democracy, freedom, individual liberty, freedom of conscience etc., NOW it is an object of pretended serious concern because it asserts all of these values and more in a thorough-going manner in all aspects of social, economic and political life. The Workers' Party of Ireland is not indifferent to either of the two views outlined. We cannot be, as democratic socialists working to establish in our divided country a modern democratic, secular, socialist unitary state-republic; nor can we be, as a component, no matter how small, of the worldwide struggle to assert the absolute primacy of the human being in opposition to such morally corrupt notions as profit, personal aggrandisement and military-industrial hegemony.

Our experience in the struggle for human freedom, dignity and democratic public life is not unique. Our struggle against terrorism, religious sectarianism, medieval manifestations of moral and spiritual authority can be encountered in many countries in our world. But it is an experience

worth considering because in microcosm it places on the political agenda some of the foremost issues of our time.

I will not outline matters of detail: murder of citizens, politicians, police officers, men and women going about their work, but rather emphasise the manner in which such terrorist acts are presented as on the one hand being a component of a "freedom struggle" or on the other as an "assault on imperialism".

On both counts what is critical is the fact that the revolutionary worldwide democratic struggle for socialism suffers. And suffers in a way that must not be underestimated.

For such a micro-situation is easily translated into a global understanding by the international forces of reaction through their control of the information services. Genuine anti-colonial and anti-imperialist freedom struggles can be smeared, reactionary forces can by comparison become defenders of "democratic liberties" and revolutionary socialist morality can be declared a "corrupt anti-human conspiracy".

In other words there is no area of political unrest that the enemies of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism will not seek to exploit in their offensive against the forces of human liberation. And we must learn from this.

Ireland in our opinion is a classic example. There is one particularly sordid level at which the Irish situation could be considered—sectarian terrorist murder, a deeply divided community, manipulative democratic bourgeois parties, American imperialist intervention through second and third parties—a scenario well fit for a "radical" Western European television drama series. However, to understand our total condition in these terms alone would be to fail to come to grips with the essential ethical and political confrontation of our time.

It is in another more vital sense that the tragic Irish situation underlines a critical moral, philosophical, economic and military dilemma for our atomic era. We have a choice in Ireland (particularly Northern Ireland) to live together or else go down the road of civil war—the effect naturally on the struggle for socialism in Ireland would be disastrous. That choice, though qualitatively different, is presented on the world stage in all areas of international life, political, economic, social and military.

We either obey the imperative of our age—collectivism—or else suffer annihilation because of lack of common understanding, unity of action, apathy or clinging to outdated forms of action and organisation; we must not fail to deal decisively with the philosophy which would destroy our universe—individualism.

It is individualism which underwrites archaic notions of national security, which sustains a world economic order under which billions have died through starvation in the midst of plenty, which warps human under-

standing so that freedom and democracy become the watchword of those who enslave millions and which currently is the dynamic behind the present worldwide attack on the real and lasting human values of peace, democracy, freedom and socialism.

Comrades,

This is the challenge to the progressive democratic forces. Are we to remain on the defensive against the tyranny of imperialism, against the baseness of greed, against the denial of fundamental human rights, the right to a home, to work, to food, to life itself—or are we to mobilise all our capacities, to create a new unity, in full recognition of our diversity, and go forward with fresh strategies to win the world's masses for a peaceful, democratic, free and prosperous world? If collectivism is the imperative of our time, if the logic of the atomic era demands that the major powers eliminate nuclear weapons from human history, then surely the time dictates to us, the representatives of most of the world's exploited people that we find the will to forge a purposeful unity against our common enemy.

For there are times that it does appear as if we have forgotten, or have been mesmerised by alien propaganda, about the fact that our real enemy is imperialism and that the forces of imperialism seize every opportunity, every political, social and economic occasion to mount assaults on the socialist countries, particularly the Soviet Union. An example here is their dedicated commitment to reactionary forces in Poland and medieval sectarianism in Afghanistan.

Now 70 years after the most critical revolution in human history it is time for us to reassert all the values which October 1917 introduced to the world. Peace, Freedom, Democracy, Human Welfare became a reality in one part of the world: and in the intervening years inspired millions to defeat exploitation and human degradation.

There is no doubt in our minds that unified progressive democratic forces would enable the human race to recreate our world so as to satisfy all mankind's needs and desires. This should be our objective.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Popular Socialist Party of Mexico

Jorge Cruickshank GARCÍA

News of the agreement achieved in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States to dismantle medium- and shorter-range missiles opened up bright, new prospects for the nations of the world.

This event is so important because the tendency in recent years for the arms race to expand and the threat of a nuclear catastrophe, of humanity's annihilation, to increase is being curbed.

Indeed, an entire decade marked by significant achievements in the struggle for peace and détente was followed by the 1980s when the situation changed and American imperialism placed the world on the brink of destruction by pursuing a provocative policy.

The Reagan administration, the economic and political forces it is serving and the military-industrial complex have escalated the arms race to such a level that the capitalist world's system of economic relations has suffered failures and international tensions have been aggravated to the extreme.

Imperialism's material basis in its preparations for nuclear war consists of a huge arsenal of thermonuclear bombs, various delivery vehicles, military bases and more than half a million troops deployed all over the world, modern missile carriers, an intricate electronic system to control military operations, and the so-called Strategic Defence Initiative known as Star Wars.

American imperialism's efforts are aimed at continually modernising systems of mass destruction, at heightening international tensions, at encouraging militarism and anti-communism, and at making humanity a hostage of the imperialist drive for world domination.

This being so, the struggle for peace and disarmament, which has always been in the peoples' vital interests, has acquired new dimensions in light of the huge increase in the threat of war.

The Soviet Union's reply has been a peace offensive which has also acquired unprecedented dimensions. The appraisals and proposals of the 27th CPSU Congress, the unilateral moratorium on nuclear explosions, which was extended repeatedly, and Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's persistent peace initiatives have undermined the positions of imperialism's warmongers.

The Soviet Union's vigorous peace offensive has renewed hopes for a world without wars, and nations all over the world are stepping up their anti-war efforts.

Following intensive efforts exerted over a long period of time and numerous negotiations which ended inconclusively due to the American

leadership's negative position and which were resumed over and over again, following proposals which were rejected and then put forward once again, an agreement has been reached in principle. This is a breakthrough marking a crushing defeat for the policy of the military industrial complex and US imperialism in general.

Today when peoples throughout the world are marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution it is more obvious than ever before how consistent the policy of the people and government of the Soviet Union has been, and how consistent their vanguard, the Communist Party, has been as the main force of those fighting for peace and against the warmongers.

From Lenin's historic Decree on Peace, the first decree issued by the revolutionary government, to Mikhail Gorbachev's vigorous anti-war offensive, the Soviet Union has never abandoned its passionate and resolute struggle against war as a means of settling international disputes.

The Soviet Union's unchanging policy has shown that peace is a necessary condition for developing a socio-economic system which has no exploiters or exploited, unlike imperialist capitalism which needs a war-oriented economy to solve, if only for a while, the internal contradictions that are endemic to it.

The Soviet Union's unchanging course shows that its interests are basically the same as the interests of all peoples which yearn to live and develop their countries without being in constant danger of destruction.

Imperialism's arms build-up, its warlike policy and its unrestrained plunder of developing countries' economies are two sides of one and the same coin, two interrelated phases of one process.

Contrary to this, the struggle for peace and disarmament is developing along the same lines as the struggle for complete economic and political independence which most Latin American, Asian and African nations are seeking.

Furthermore, the efforts to improve the living standards of peoples which until recently were victims of imperialist exploitation require, among other things, that the imperialist plunder and arms build-up come to an end.

That is why the Mexican people, just like all peoples of Latin America, Asia and Africa, see in the Soviet Union the main bulwark of world peace and think of the Soviet people as brothers who, over the 70 years that have passed since they seized power in the glorious days of October, have been fighting side by side with us for peace, harmonious and equitable relations, and social progress.

The Soviet doctrine of international security which Mikhail Gorbachev formulated is a reply to those who are endangering peace and the political

and economic security of nations; it is an integral part and a logical manifestation of Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence.

The process of revolutionary renewal and perestroika which has started in the Soviet Union will confirm and strengthen its vanguard role among progressive forces and will provide the material basis for a new correlation of forces in the world that will be favourable to the peoples and unfavourable to imperialism.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!
Long live working-class internationalism!
Long live Lenin's immortal cause!
Long live peace and coexistence!
Long live the Soviet Union!
Long live Mexico!

General Secretary of the San Marino Communist Party

Gilberto GHIOTTI

Dear Comrades,

It is a great joy and honour for us to take part in this conference which you have suggested be held in order to hold an exchange of views and ideas with all the parties and progressive forces present in Moscow for the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

The San Marino Communist Party has been represented in the government of the Republic of San Marino for nine years now. From 1978 to 1986 the government was a coalition government with the socialists and since July 1986 has been a coalition government with the San Marino Christian Democrats.

This situation is the result of complicated developments; it would take long and involved account of the particulars of our internal situation to explain these developments. Here it is important to say that, despite all the changes in the government, San Marino foreign policy has remained unchanged.

As you all know, San Marino is a neutral state. This status is a result of our history, geographical factors, and also democratic processes which began taking place in our society long ago.

The status of a neutral state enables us to cooperate with other neutral countries and also with non-aligned countries. The aims of our foreign policy activities are quite definite: world peace, disarmament, and concrete and peaceful cooperation among nations.

San Marino enjoys observer status with the United Nations and the Council of Europe and, as a signatory to the Helsinki Final Act, is playing an active role in the work of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

San Marino has been playing an increasingly greater role in the international arena and its practical initiatives, which are addressed primarily to neutral countries, are determined, among other factors, by the purposeful activities of the San Marino Communist Party which has been represented in the government for over nine years. It is the only West European communist party playing such a role.

San Marino communists are firmly convinced that our country must remain neutral, cooperate within the limits of its competence in the efforts to achieve universal disarmament, and work for peace, peaceful international cooperation, and a balanced development of the world economy.

At the same time we believe that our country must not and can not ever join any military bloc, for all our traditions are aimed at strengthening

peaceful coexistence among states and, consequently, replacing the logic of the opposing military blocs with a new world logic conducive to greater cooperation.

The San Marino Communist Party is well aware that the complexity and interdependence of the world today are such that no common denominator can be found for them. The scientific and technological revolution itself has created new and rather diverse prerequisites. In the sphere of social and economic development it has led to new and more complicated structural changes in society.

Thus, there is a new phenomenon in our life. Whereas earlier the working class was directly opposed to the capitalist class, today the intermediary layer has grown immeasurably and has its own problems. New professions and new industries have emerged, as well as, naturally, new requirements. The structure of society has become much more complicated, which calls for a new approach on the part of all political parties, including the San Marino Communist Party.

As Comrade Gorbachev has said, "there is an alternative to capitalism. And this alternative is socialism". Consequently, the new reality should be approached with new yardsticks. These yardsticks should be based on our ideals and reflect a strategy which takes into account all the diversity of the present-day world and which does not rely on an automatic application of all kinds of dogmas.

Our epoch is marked by new and specific phenomena. First of all, our epoch is a nuclear epoch and as a result humanity is faced with a geat danger. Complicated economic ties arising as a result of the technological evolution have made nations more interdependent on a global scale, while new technologies themselves have changed the natural environment of the world man lives in and also people's psychology and social behaviour.

These new developments should be tackled on a global scale and not as they were tackled in the past; we must proceed from the need to find a common approach for communist and socialist forces, as well as for all progressive and democratic forces, to analysis and action, an approach aimed at building a society unlike the one which is trying to consolidate modern capitalism with its mass media, but a society based on respect for man, definite democratic guarantees, social and economic equality, and the complete eradication of human exploitation.

The threat of nuclear catastrophe and global militarisation does indeed exist, and so this threat must be combatted by advancing clear-cut ideas and proposals. In this sense, the activities of Comrade Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, meet with our approval, because they are aimed at eliminating the grave threat hanging over all of humanity, and because his actions and proposals are aimed at achieving peace, détente and peaceful cooperation among nations.

Success in this important and responsible field can be achieved by ensuring security for all countries, by solving the structural problems of international relations, the key problems of economic development and the problems of North-South relations, and by trying to establish a new international economic order.

The main feature of our times is that neither side can solve the highly complex problems of international politics through armed force. Hence, it is necessary to adopt a new thinking in national policies and in the efforts to reach an understanding, especially between antagonistic states. Here it is necessary for all interested parties to hold negotiations on nuclear arms so as to gradually slow down the global arms race and launch a global plan for phased disarmament.

This requires a great deal of political will, especially on the part of the world's major powers, particularly, the Soviet Union and the United States. As we have stated repeatedly, the Americans should abandon their SDI programme immediately. We also need a united Europe which clearly realises its goals.

The SDI project constitutes a serious threat for all peoples on earth, and we will never find the arguments supporting it convincing, for the proper development of international relations and a search for solutions to military, social and economic problems can be ensured only if this project and any other new systems of strategic defence are rejected.

The San Marino Communist Party declares that today nobody can remain inactive in the face of the grave dangers threatening the peoples of the whole world. That is why we believe that even such a small nation as San Marino must have its say and that all small nations must be active, advancing initiatives, stirring up public opinion and consistently supporting joint actions with larger countries in order to save the human race and guarantee a future for our planet.

Naturally, we, San Marino communists, have our ideals, convictions and political goals. But it is clear to us that the top priority goal, more important than any other, is to make every effort to get negotiations started on nuclear weapons, strategic and conventional arms, and on new ways of developing international relations based on mutual respect, independence, non-intervention, and the need to secure a firm basis for peace.

We must work on building such a basis in the economic sphere as well. Recent developments also raise the issue of the huge debt of the developing countries. If we consider it possible to solve all these problems, we cannot ignore their huge debt to the highly developed states and their banks; we cannot help thinking about how these countries will be able to move from underdevelopment to economic and socio-political development, something that cannot be delayed any longer.

We believe that the debt problem should be solved through negotia-

tion by a special international organisation which would become a guarantor of the ensuing solution, thereby providing Third World countries with the possibility of renewed development.

All this goes to show that no solution can be achieved unless states reach a truly just accord, for their interdependence is as great and as complicated as the needs of each and everyone of us. There is no other way. Nowadays, nobody, let alone any one state, can treat this subject in an off-hand or sly manner, playing with SDI out of self-centred interests. This is too risky.

Representative of the Syrian Communists

Khalid BAGHDASH

Dear comrades,

A united international front is vividly represented at the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. This front is composed of the forces of socialism, national liberation and the peace movement. The festivities have demonstrated that the Soviet people are closely rallied around the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the struggle for preserving world peace and protecting mankind's right to live and the right of nations to independence and a free choice.

Together with millions of people all over the world we have heard Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's fine and substantial report in which he has dotted all the i's in evaluating the 70 years that have elapsed since the October Revolution. He has recounted the Soviet people's tremendous achievements and has honestly and objectively identified the mistakes made. Here we should recall Lenin's words: there has never been a man who has not made mistakes and there never will be.

The report contains a decisive rebuff to imperialist Western propaganda which has been telling people that perestroika indicates a departure from socialism in internal policy, a withdrawal of support for national-liberation and progressive social movements in foreign policy. One of the main points of the report is the denial of the claim that the CPSU has set out to rehabilitate Trotskyism. Comrade Gorbachev has dealt a crushing blow to all these false claims.

Comrade Gorbachev's report vividly bears out the strength of Soviet socialist society and its vanguard, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

We, Arab communists, and all progressive people in the Arab countries must point out the reactionary and subversive role of international Zionism which has joined forces with international imperialism and in particular with the strike forces of American imperialism.

Israel's Zionist rulers, who have entered into a strategic alliance with American imperialism, are playing the chief role in generating tensions in the Middle East. They are trying to hinder a just solution to the problem and prevent the holding of an international conference on the Middle East, as the Soviet Union has proposed be done.

Lenin called attention to the danger of Zionism. He revealed its essence and showed that it was a reactionary movement directed against socialism and the entire liberation movement, and that it was an obedient instrument of capitalism and imperialism.

Zionist activities everywhere are aimed at helping imperialism drive a wedge in between the Soviet Union and national-liberation and progressive movements. These are futile attempts. I recall the words of a representative of the Arab national progressive forces who is present here. At an international meeting in Damascus marking the 70th anniversary of the Oc-

tober Revolution, he said: "Imagine what the world would be like without the Soviet Union."

Zionist and imperialist propaganda is fundamentally wrong. The Soviet Union's international prestige is growing. The celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution in Moscow provide the best proof of this. In Syria, friendship with the Soviet Union has become a national Arab tradition for the entire nation.

In his report Comrade Gorbachev has raised important issues, and we must take part in discussing them. Comrade Gorbachev has said that the threat of war is mainly rooted in the nature of imperialism. And he went on: "But, given the current stage of the world's development and the new level of its interdependence and integration, is it possible to influence that nature and block its more dangerous manifestations? In other words, can one be sure that the laws operating in the integral world, in which universal human values have top priority, will restrict the scope of the destructive effects produced by the operation of the egocentric laws which benefit only the ruling classes and are basic to the capitalist system?

"...Can capitalism get rid of militarism and function and develop in the economic sphere without it? Is it not a delusion on our part to invite the West to draw up and compare conversion programmes for switching economies over to civilian production?"

And another question: "Can the capitalist system do without neocolonialism which is currently one of the factors essential to its survival? In other words, can this system function without the inequitable trade with the Third World, which is fraught with unforeseeable consequences?

"In other words, the question is whether capitalism can adapt itself to the conditions of a nuclear-weapon-free world, to the conditions of a new and equitable economic order, to the conditions in which the intellectual and moral values of the two world systems will be compared honestly." Comrade Gorbachev then said that the questions would be "answered in due time."

It is true that the questions will be answered in due time. In other words, the problem largely depends on the scope and power of the working-class movement and the peace movement in developed capitalist countries, on the scope and power of the national-liberation movements in newly free states, and especially on the growth of the power of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. In this way, the aggressive nature of imperialism and capitalism in general can be bridled.

Aggression and the military occupation of foreign territories have become difficult endeavours for imperialism. This is exemplified by the recent futile attempts to occupy Lebanon and Libya. A similar situation has now developed in the Persian Gulf. America and other NATO countries have amassed naval forces consisting of dozens of warships here. But they have not dared to land their troops on Iranian territory.

In its attempts to reverse the march of history, America is coming up against the peoples' growing political consciousness and their desire to live in freedom and sovereignty, without hegemony and foreign occupa-

tion. That is why imperialism, especially the United States, is resorting to economic means of penetration as regards most of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Transnational corporations are plundering these countries, undermining their economies, saddling them with unbearable debts and drawing them into a vicious circle—they are forced to take out new loans in order to repay previous ones. The World Bank is pumping money out of these countries, and it is doing this to achieve political ascendancy through ensuring their economic dependence.

Our country, Syria, is experiencing great economic difficulties and is coming up against a fierce campaign that is being conducted by the European Economic Community and transnational corporations, including American corporations. They are trying, by hook or by crook, to gain domination over the Syrian economy. It should be noted that Syria is resisting imperialist designs and enjoys extensive and reliable support of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

American imperialism is doing everything it can to prevent an end to the Iran-Iraq war, hoping to ruin the economies of both countries and subordinate them.

The Syrian Communist Party is represented in the central leadership of the National Progressive Front. It supports Syria's general policy. Basically this policy is to thwart the plans of imperialism and Zionism in the Middle East and to promote relations of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries in all spheres, including international relations. Syria officially backs all foreign policy initiatives of the Soviet Union. We, Syrian communists, are working to satisfy the demands of workers, peasants and other groups of working people engaged in physical and mental labour; we are struggling against the parasitic and bureaucratic bourgeoisie and against the attempts to plunder the people and the state. Our main slogan is struggle in defence of the people's homeland and their well-being.

Finally, I would like to mention the newspaper **Anba Musku** (Moscow News). This is the only Soviet paper that regularly appears in the Arabic language and our communists learn about what is happening in the Soviet Union from it. That is why in the conditions of perestroika the content of the paper must not depend on the sentiments of any one editor or the views of any one group of people. The paper must be under the complete control of the CPSU.

Head of the International Department of the Italian Social-Democratic Party

Ruggero PULETTI

Dear comrades,

We have studied Comrade Gorbachev's report and listened to his opening speech at this meeting with us, representatives of parties from foreign countries. These are two very important speeches, and the delegation of the Italian Social-Democratic Party sincerely considers them highly praiseworthy. We are convinced that this meeting convened on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution will, given absolute frankness, help to establish fraternal ties between the ISDP and the CPSU. We appreciate Comrade Gorbachev's speeches for being lucid and to the point. They are free from pompous phrases, that drawback all anniversary speeches have in common. It has been justly pointed out that the anniversary of the October Revolution is not only an occasion to express our pride, to reminisce and to reflect, but also an occasion to look ahead to the future. This is a bold and highly self-critical way of summing-up. We, Italian Social-Democrats, are convinced that Gorbachev has put up for debate even the very concept of history and has cast away the determinism which in the past stemmed from a dogmatic understanding of Marxism. Furthermore, we believe that in the report of the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee where he speaks of the need to combine **continuity and renewal**, the latter notion prevails over the former. Representatives of Russian democratic thought of the 19th century—from Herzen and Chernyshevsky on to the other continuators of the enlighteners' traditions, hold a special place in the analysis of the past and of the origins of the October Revolution. So far it has not been said that socialism is rooted in liberal-democratic traditions, but at least we no longer hear the old verdicts and routine anathemas. The fideism has yielded way to reason whose dream, as Goya put it, "produces monsters". A bold and clear reappraisal has been made of the role of the February 1917 Revolution; it has been indicated that there is a connection between the New Economic Policy and what is being done today, a time when large-scale cooperation is in the making and new and more profound forms of collective management are becoming visible.

But the part of the report dealing with international politics evokes the greatest interest. Comrade Gorbachev has pointed out the existing interdependence between the policies of the two superpowers, and other countries as well. It is obvious that only by releasing the huge financial resources caught in the fetters of the insane arms race and the development of new military technology will it be possible to embark once again on the road of development and at the same time provide practical assistance to

Third World countries. In these conditions it will be possible to pursue an effective policy on environmental protection and create normal conditions for human life. Peaceful revolutions are taking place, revolutions which are changing relations between people, revolutions in mutual understanding between states which are as impressive or even more impressive than revolutionary movements that fatally lead to bloodshed. We, Social-Democrats, have always preferred gradual change and reform. We think highly of Comrade Gorbachev's efforts under the banner of perestroika and glasnost. For our part, we are convinced that socialism is based on democracy and that a pluralism of political forces is a necessary prerequisite for democracy. The Soviet Union under Gorbachev's leadership is making, using a Marxist turn of phrase, "a qualitative leap" and trying to combine individual human values with the needs of society as a whole. Comrade Gorbachev has said that back when the October Revolution took place, the proposed ways of dealing with complicated problems seemed simple and schematic. Today, 70 years later, one realises that the old answers are no good for tackling the complicated problems of the post-industrial society. History is less and less capable of justifying things that have taken place and of generating theories in which ideology is a dogma inscribed on plates of lead. History is instead becoming a rational indicator in the quest for answers to questions which arise again and again. Indeed, a genuine democracy, including socialist democracy, can be only that state structure which is subject to constant and not yet predetermined improvements.

This is, briefly, what I think of the two speeches to which we will have to return for further study. But even today I think that we should pay attention to the openness of CPSU policy, which is unexpected to us, and to the overcoming of the utopias that have outlived themselves.

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Finland (Unity)

Jouko KAJANOJA

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear comrades, friends,

First of all, permit me to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for organising this forum of peace and progress. We regard this meeting as an important part of the CPSU initiatives for deepening and expanding new thinking and we are grateful for the invitation to take part in it.

Our gratitude goes to the communists of the party which was the first in the world to call itself communist. This very meeting, at which communists from all over the world are gathered together with other progressive political forces to consider ways of solving the most pressing of the world's problems, is an answer to those who claim that communist parties are unnecessary.

A comprehensive system of international security is a necessity. No other positive road to get from today to the future is anywhere in sight. There is no other reliable alternative. The only alternative to this remains the growing threat of humanity's destruction.

New thinking has gone down in world history if only because it is developing the idea of an international security system. It gives every one of us a vision of potential positive change. It makes us think and act. So what can we do within national limits to influence the foreign policies of our countries, policies which new thinking puts on a higher level? What can we do to promote international cooperation? Without doubt, this is what our thoughts are concentrated on.

In his speech at the jubilee meeting on November 2 marking the anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev developed new thinking further.

Among other things, he considered the question of whether it would be possible "to restrict the scope of the destructive effects produced by the operation of the egocentric laws which benefit only the ruling classes and are basic to the capitalist system" and whether "capitalism can get rid of militarism and function and develop in the economic sphere without it"? At our meeting he has noted in this connection that "that policy will continue to enjoy support so long as fear of the 'Soviet threat' remains."

Finland's experience provides material for considering these issues.

Before I start going into this experience, I will briefly touch on the views and experience of the CPF (U) in the new stage of the communist movement today. Communist parties are a logical product of the development of the working-class movement, but this does not rule out the need for their constant renewal. We feel that perestroika concerns all commun-

ists, including those in Finland. And we are not among the spectators in the field of perestroika, as our party's chairman, Taisto Sinisalo, has pointed out.

New thinking is not a phrase or a scientific category. It is the reality of life. We understand it primarily as the creative application of the theoretical conclusions of Marxism-Leninism in the present situation. It is the continuation of the social process started by the October Revolution.

The present situation obliges us to leave the confines of conventional political logic which is based primarily on class, national and party interests. This is a process that affects all of humanity at a time when global problems demand the coordination and cooperation of the forces of social progress. Communists should review the content, forms and methods of their activities, but at the same time retain the character of a working-class party fighting for socialism.

What have we ourselves done? One conclusion we have made is that in the past year our party has embarked on a new road in establishing unity of action among various social forces. One result of this decisive turn has been the emergence, after many stages, of a new progressive political organisation. On our initiative, the Democratic Alternative has been set up which is quite flexible in the way cooperation is organised and which is open to people adhering to various political views.

This organisation represents a new political culture in Finland corresponding to the new period. At the moment it is, doubtless, the most active political movement calling for change.

The initiatives of the CPSU and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev have made us reappraise our own ideological motives as far as socialism is concerned, including the nature of socialist ownership. We have to reconsider many things in the light of new realities and creative searches. In this connection I want to refer to the appeal Comrade Gus Hall made here for unification and restoration of the unity of divided communist parties. This is a painfully pressing issue for us. Comrade Hall's appeal certainly corresponds to the hopes of most Finnish communists. The situation in Finland is such that we all must take heed of this appeal. We, for our part, are ready to start acting immediately.

Over the past decade we in Finland have gained a lot of experience in peaceful coexistence and in economic development within the limits of peaceful coexistence. This experience confirms that detente and security in relations between capitalism and socialism must be based on broad cooperation and the conviction deeply rooted in the hearts of the people that the other side's intentions are trustworthy and void of any threat. Extensive cooperation leads to a situation in which "the image of an enemy" does not influence public consciousness and the people do not believe in it or support it.

The road to peaceful cooperation was not an easy one. In the 1920s and 1930s Finland was the Soviet Union's least friendly neighbour. We, communists, were pioneers in the struggle for peaceful coexistence. We worked underground, carrying out hard and dedicated work, for more than a quarter of a century, and then later began working as a legalised organisation. Our efforts in rallying the people led to a breakthrough in Finnish-Soviet relations—in 1948 the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance was signed.

Now peaceful coexistence has been broadly recognised by various political groups. We are not jealous. We are very pleased that the policy of peaceful coexistence in Finland is now the policy of the entire nation. But we do not rest content. Peaceful coexistence, its progress or regress is the object of a never-ending struggle. This is born out by recent events in Finland.

Finland's wide-ranging cooperation with the Soviet Union has produced a situation which is exceptional for capitalist countries. The Soviet Union is not viewed as a hostile country in Finland. The atmosphere of "the Soviet threat", which has been established in the capitalist world as a whole, does not exist in Finland. Lenin's policy of peaceful coexistence, a patient and purposeful policy conducted by the Soviet Union, has created a situation in which relations between the Soviet Union and Finland can serve as a model of a new system of international security for the rest of the world.

This does not mean that a struggle is not being waged constantly against the neighbourly relations between our two countries. There have been countless attempts to try and change Finland's foreign policy and international ties and channel them onto the one-way road of supranational capitalism. Contrary to the policy of peaceful coexistence, there have been attempts to cut back Finland's cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and to "neutralise" Finland's active policy of peace, that is, to weaken the policy of peaceful coexistence.

This issue also lies within the scope of our reflections. What actions should we take to protect the results achieved? How are we to build our cooperation so that its depth would rule out the possibility of confrontation? In considering this issue and other issues of cooperation, we should of course refer to the ideas expressed in Mikhail Gorbachev's article about international security and human communication published on September 17, 1987.

The economic benefits of this cooperation for Finland are indisputable. It has helped to accelerate Finland's economic development. Even right-wing groups in Finland do not deny this. A joint survey conducted by a group of scholars of the Northern countries has revealed an interesting fact: though Finland's economic policy since the mid-1970s has been

more reactionary as compared with Sweden, Norway and Denmark and aimed more at monetarism and restraining economic growth than these countries' policies, Finland's economic growth rate has been higher than the average for Northern Europe.

This survey's important conclusion, with which researchers agree, is that Finland's extensive cooperation with the Soviet Union has helped to accelerate Finland's economic growth. But this conclusion also raises an issue which I can only repeat here: broad economic and other forms of cooperation between a capitalist country and a socialist country do not directly lead to the emergence of processes in the capitalist country leading to progressive change in economic or social policies. It seems that it is largely our duty, the duty of Finnish communists, to untangle this problem. The interdependence of peaceful coexistence and social progress, therefore, is a many-sided problem. At any rate, Finland's experience confirms the relationship between greater cooperation and peaceful coexistence.

The possibilities for cooperation are being expanded thanks to the present stage of the Soviet Union's development, perestroika, and the Soviet leaders' new initiatives for creating an international security system. This situation opens up new prospects in the capitalist countries for cooperation among all left-wing and democratic forces. The ideas about a peaceful economy elaborated within the Christian movement can serve as an example here.

Changes occur quickly in international politics as well as in social consciousness and people's minds. It is necessary to carry out an unbiased analysis of questions connected with the social structure and social groups. Working-class parties and organisations, just like other traditional political forces, have a difficult time keeping up with these changes. We in the Communist Party of Finland (Unity) are convinced that there are more opportunities for stepping up the struggle for peace, promoting cooperation and strengthening solidarity than there would appear to be at a cursory glance. They seem to be hidden under an external shroud of reality in people's minds. These opportunities are waiting to be discovered and organised. They require an accurate and thorough analysis of social development; they require that the people's voice be heard. They call for displaying readiness to establish cooperation with new social groupings without any kind of prejudice. They are waiting for us to elaborate new forms of activity.

Dear comrades, we need a realistic optimism aimed at the future.

Dear friends, comrades,

I would like to take this opportunity and make a concrete proposal to many delegations present here. I propose that all parties from Northern European countries make a joint study of the steps that could be taken to turn Northern Europe into a zone of peace and cooperation between the

two social systems. Such a study would be a reply to the proposals outlined by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev in the broad programme for peace and cooperation in the Arctic region, which he put forward in Murmansk. Mikhail Gorbachev's important initiative requires concrete development and places responsibility on the progressive forces of the Northern countries. Certainly, we would expect the Soviet side to join us in this work.

I will conclude by addressing all those present here, dear friends and comrades. I agree with many of the ideas expressed here earlier. Such meetings should be continued. The proposed format for them has justified itself perfectly. We need a tradition, but it must not turn into fetters. It is necessary to propose other forms and hold meetings with other participants, as has already been proposed here. At any rate, this meeting provides convincing proof that such forms of cooperation are more than necessary.

General Secretary of the People's Progressive Party of Guyana

Cheddi JAGAN

Peace was the centre-piece of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The quest for it was a fillip for the realisation of the revolution. And the first pronouncement of the new workers' state, the Decree on Peace, put forth the concept of peaceful coexistence and the vision of a war-free, secure future.

This Leninist concept, based on Marxist-Leninist humanism, runs like a thread in the fabric of Soviet foreign policy during the past 70 years. Today, it is grudgingly admitted even in the West that the CPSU and the Soviet government are foremost in championing the need for world peace.

Peace has been preserved for more than four decades not because of the West's nuclear arsenal and the strategy of nuclear deterrence. Rather, it has been preserved because of the might of the Soviet Union, the high sense of responsibility of the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet Government, the resolve of the Soviet people to make supreme sacrifices in defending their homeland, the growing clamour of world public opinion and the rapid strengthening of the organised peace movement, especially in the centres of imperialism.

One group in Western ruling circles realises that in a nuclear war with the "nuclear winter" that would follow there will be no winners. They are prepared to block the war-mongering hotheads of the military-industrial complex who see their strategic interests in a first strike against the socialist community. Consequently, they tend towards peaceful coexistence, detente and the normalisation of USA-USSR relations.

But their path is not straightforward. While they want to avoid a nuclear holocaust, they still want capitalism as a dominant world system.

This objective has been frustrated due to several factors: the general, structural and cyclical crisis of world capitalism; inter-imperialist contradictions and rivalry among the three world capitalist centres; the strength of the socialist community with economic growth rates generally twice as high as in the capitalist camp; the growth of the world communist movement; the historical initiative passing over to socialism; the growth and influence of the National Liberation Movement and the establishment of many revolutionary-democratic states in the third world; the increasing strength and dynamism of the peace and anti-war movement.

How to stop the socialist community from becoming an attractive example and to halt the shift in the world balance of forces against capitalism? How to freeze the Third World situation and to continue to exact tribute from the underdeveloped countries?

These considerations lead to contradictory trends: unity and division in

the ruling circles between the war-mongering military monopolists whose interests are served by super-profits from arms manufacture and the non-military transnationals whose main concern is overseas investment.

Unity of action between the different groups develops on the issue of preventing the socialist community from winning the battle of peaceful competition. A costly arms expenditure, especially a Star Wars programme, is seen as the means by which the socialist camp should be forced to divert scarce resources from development to armament.

It is necessary to see this as an equally important aspect of the situation and an explanation of why Reykjavik did not result in the acceptance of a comprehensive and realistic package on disarmament.

Fortunately, economic laws and forces cannot be brushed aside forever. The recent dive in the value of US stocks is an alarm bell of the basic weakness of the US economy: the huge trade and budget deficits. Thus far the US ruling circles have maintained a costly arms programme at the expense of the people's welfare, their Western allies and the plunder of the Third World.

More emphasis should be placed on "Disarmament for Development" and the creation of a special "Development Fund". This has a greater direct appeal to the working people in the developed capitalist states and more particularly in the countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Caribbean.

It is also necessary to focus more attention on the Third World factor in the equation of the complex and interdependent world situation.

The plunder of the underdeveloped countries in the form of superprofits, non-equivalent trade, high interest freight and service rates, royalty on technology, etc., helps to fuel the arms race. According to the UN Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean, the average annual net outflow from the region in the form of profits, principal and interest in the 1981-85 period was $36 billion. This accounts for the bipartisan support in Washington for counter-revolutionary activities in various regions of the world to protect "vital interests".

Here, we must also recognise not only similarities but also differences in the positions of the various sections of the capitalist ruling class.

The arms manufacturers are interested in tensions and an aggravated world situation, which is conducive to the sale of more and more weapons and the earning of huge profits. On the other hand, those interested in overseas markets for investment and goods want a stable situation and a favourable, strife-free investment climate; others, concerned about the internal market, want stable-priced foreign inputs and large internal consumers' demand.

In the interest of world peace, it is necessary to recognise these differ-

ences and contradictions and to build the broadest possible alliance against the military-industrial complex.

From the Third World perspective, the struggle for peace must be linked with the struggle for national liberation and social emancipation. Here, it is necessary to recognise the role not only of the imperialists, but also of the dominant ruling groups.

For more than a decade we have been saying that lack of democracy and the meaningful involvement of the working people in all spheres of public life, racial and political discrimination, bribery, corruption and extravagance act cumulatively as fetters on the productive forces and adversely affect economic and social development. And, ultimately, the gains made towards an independent course of development are sacrificed on the altar of pragmatism and expediency.

Such reversals have been seen in many countries. Promising beginnings have ended in a shift from non-alignment to neutralism and a political line-up on the side of imperialism.

If Third World countries are to fulfil their responsibility in the fight for peace, their struggle must be national and democratic—democratic not just in form but in content. The mere expansion of the state sector and the uttering of progressive, even revolutionary, slogans are not enough. If the dominant ruling groups fail to take a firm revolutionary-democratic course, the working people, who have in the recent past demonstrated such great courage in countries such as Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, the Philippines and Haiti, must be fully supported for meaningful change.

The world communist movement must go on the offensive. We must not be put on the defensive by the so-called champions of democracy and human rights. Their doubletalk becomes transparent when they call counter-revolutionaries freedom-fighters and arm mercenaries to kill and maim thousands and thousands of innocent civilians. We, who are the real champions of social justice, must defend democracy and humanitarian rights! And we must pronounce loudly and clearly that, in championing peace, we are defending the greatest human right: the right to life.

Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the CC of the Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front

Nathan SHAMUYARIRA

The main item on the international political agenda this month is the pending summit meeting between the heads of government of the USA and the USSR in Washington on December 7, 1987. The main purpose of the summit will be to sign a treaty which will eliminate the intermediate and short-range nuclear forces. The summit is also expected to discuss the more complex problem of limiting the production and deployment of strategic intercontinental nuclear weapons.

In terms of the quantity of nuclear weapons available, the INF represents a small percentage of the stockpiles held by the two superpowers, but the treaty would break a vicious circle in the arms race, would initiate a turning point on the road towards a complete, general and comprehensive disarmament agreement. The summit has the full support of the non-aligned movement (NAM) which has consistently advocated an international policy of limiting, reducing and fully eliminating all nuclear weapons.

The Eighth Summit of Non-Aligned Nations, held in Harare last year, addressed a special appeal to President Ronald Reagan of the USA and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev of the USSR on the question of disarmament. We were pleased by the warmth and seriousness with which this appeal was received in Moscow, which was in contrast with the decidedly cool reaction in Washington. The NAM welcomed Moscow's programme for nuclear disarmament in a phased, time-bound framework, aiming at the complete elimination of nuclear weapons from the face of the earth by all nuclear weapon states by the end of this century. This programme is in line with the plea and policy of NAM countries.

The NAM countries believe that the durability and permanence of the pending INF treaty and any others to come in future will be enhanced by the participation of all other states, irrespective of size, in the peace-making process through the forum of the United Nations and the Conference on Disarmament and Development. The involvement of big and small states from all the major regions of the world in the peace-making process is vital for success. After all, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East were deeply involved in the two world wars, although they had started in Europe. More importantly, since the end of the Second World War there have been ten or more other wars involving the superpowers, but all of them have been fought in the arena and context of Third World countries. The wars in Korea and Vietnam are good examples. The participation of other states may assist in committing the signatories to observe the terms of the treaty. For example, we were disturbed recently when the US government announced

that it no longer considered itself bound by the provisions of the second Strategic Arms Limitation Treaty (SALT II) of 1979. We have urged the US government to reconsider its position, but there has been no response.

Furthermore, the NAM countries have urged the superpowers not to extend the arms race on earth into outer space. They strongly reaffirm the principle that outer space should be a common heritage of mankind and should be used exclusively for peaceful purposes. To this extent we condemn the so-called Star Wars and urge that a comprehensive agreement be reached to ban the introduction of any weapons in outer space. As far as Africa is concerned, the OAU decided in 1964 to ban the acquisition and testing of all nuclear weapons in the continent.

We would also urge the summit to discuss some regional conflicts that pose a serious threat to international peace and security. In his presentation yesterday, Comrade Daniel Ortega, President of Nicaragua, recounted some of the burning issues in such regions as Southern Africa, the Middle East, Central America, the Caribbean, and parts of Asia. Many speakers have elaborated on the nature and character of the conflict in each region, and demonstrated the inherent dangers and threats to international peace and security.

Several distinguished delegates have referred to the critical situation in Southern Africa. We only want to emphasise two aspects: firstly, the state terrorism of the South African government is a serious threat to international peace and security, and must be challenged by the imposition of UN-sponsored comprehensive and mandatory economic sanctions, on the one hand, and massive material assistance to the liberation movements on the other. The World Conference Against Racist South Africa held in Paris in June 1986 condemned state terrorism and destabilisation measures, as well as South Africa's support for bandit organisations in other states. Secondly, the US government should be told repeatedly that its own actions are fueling the conflict in the region, such as the financial and military support for UNITA—a bandit organisation in Angola—including supplying it with Stinger missiles. The other bandit organisation, RENAMO, has been allowed to raise funds and open offices in Washington. One right-wing private organisation (The Heritage Foundation) went so far as to convene a conference of bandit organisations in Washington in 1986. That is no contribution to peace in the region.

In addition to the question of militarism, the opening speech of the General Secretary of the CPSU, Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, referred to the important question of neo-colonialism, and the unequal terms of trade between developed and developing nations. In this area there are numerous large questions that require detailed examination and intensive debate. We are gratified that the General Secretary is backing the efforts of NAM countries over the years to establish a new and equitable economic order.

We think the North-South dialogue should continue, and efforts to establish a new economic order redoubled. Furthermore the debate on disarmament should be closely linked with the related issue of development. Indeed, the UN Conference on Disarmament now includes development.

But Africa does face some very specific and peculiar problems of drought, hunger and the growth of desert areas. The Special Session of the General Assembly of the UN, convened to discuss the critical economic situation in Africa, produced a programme of action for African economic recovery and development which we would like to commend to all progressive organisations and governments to study and implement.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Ecuador

René MAUGÉ MOSQUERA

Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev,
Distinguished participants in this international forum,

I would like to begin my speech by expressing gratitude for the invitation to the Communist Party of Ecuador to attend the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and also this unusual international forum at which Communist, Socialist and Social-Democratic parties and movements for social and national liberation are exchanging their experiences in struggle.

I will touch upon a number of issues concerning the prospects for unity among left-wing and progressive forces, and also problems facing our generation.

Neocolonialist dependence with its extremely negative impact has been a part of Latin American peoples' life since they liberated themselves from the colonial domination of the former Spanish Empire.

The crisis shaking the capitalist world today has a particularly strong impact in various spheres of our peoples' life. They are victims of unemployment brought about by the crisis and the operation of such mechanisms as inequitable trade and foreign debt.

It could be said that the socio-economic and political phenomenon of neocolonialist dependence has thrown Ecuador and other Latin American countries back to the early periods of their history: an acute need has again arisen to overcome neocolonialist dependence, but now this must be done in the process of national and social liberation, which is gradually laying down the foundations of socialism. Otherwise, we will remain in capitalism's power and dependent on monopolies. The age-old backwardness of the people will continue and they will be plunged into poverty, illiteracy and despair.

Ecuador has entered the worst crisis. Its huge foreign debt exceeds 9,000 million dollars, or 80 per cent of the gross national product. To repay this debt, we need a sum equal to what we would make over 28 years of exporting bananas, and Ecuador is the world's largest exporter of bananas.

The concentration of wealth has reached unheard-of dimensions in the past three years of oligarchic rule. The oligarchy is pursuing a neoliberal economic policy. Fifty-two per cent of the country's population, which is 10 million, are either unemployed or partially employed. By the year 2000 the population is expected to reach 15 million.

The economic policy, which is leading to the concentration of wealth and to general impoverishment, is combined with state terrorism, the curbing of bourgeois democracy, and national betrayal. Relations with the government of Nicaragua have been severed. Six thousand reservists from the United States land forces have been permitted to be deployed in Ecuador's Amazonia.

Our strategic goals of national and social liberation and our tactics of uniting all anti-imperialist, democratic and patriotic forces, civil and military, are the pressing tasks we are tackling in the conditions of aggravated contradictions as we work to overcome anti-communist prejudice and sectarianism.

What successes have we achieved?

1. The process of strengthening unity of action now encompasses all organised trade unions which are being influenced by various trends. The trade union movement is being joined by organisations of farmers, indigenous people, teachers and artisans.

2. Unity of action in the National Congress among six left-wing parties and centre parties on the basis of a policy agreement. This has made it possible to demand that the American troops be withdrawn and to expose and condemn the policy of state terrorism.

3. Unity of action is necessary in view of the elections scheduled to be held in January 1988. Most of the left-wing, revolutionary parties will take part in them. A front of left-wing forces has been established on the basis of a programme outlining common tactics and strategy. The programme envisages the coming to power of a popular, revolutionary, democratic and patriotic government which could launch democratic, agrarian and anti-imperialist reforms.

The goal dictated by the national conditions has not been reached at this stage: no electoral political agreement has been reached in Parliament between the left-wing forces, Social-Democrats and Christian Democrats. This agreement was supposed to have decided the question of the government's responsibilities to the Ecuadoran nation and people.

Central to all the political activities and concerted actions carried out by our party is the task of isolating and defeating the imperialist policy of neoglobalism which is based on a militaristic doctrine.

At this forum, the dilemma facing the human race has been spelled out clearly: either we will survive or we will perish. Detente, disarmament and the scrapping of nuclear arms are essential if we are to survive.

This goal, which we wholly support, reflects the historical necessity for all the world's progressive forces to take united actions on an international scale. We must search for new ways, sparing no effort to bring about a historic victory for the cause of peace and the triumph of life on our planet.

The so-called Strategic Defence Initiative would mean raising militarisation to a new level and conducting military adventures in outer space. SDI has not spared Latin America either. Financial resources are being pumped out of it by means of the foreign debt mechanism. Our countries are the arms industry's main suppliers of strategic resources. Caught in this orbit, Ecuador plays the role of a pawn on the chessboard of militarism.

Latin America and the Third World should carefully analyse the part of the US military doctrine dealing with what is called low intensity conflicts.

Within the framework of this doctrine of neocolonialist domination, military bases are being set up and paramilitary gangs are being organised

to carry out reprisals against popular fighters, leaders and revolutionaries. This is how state terrorism is being carried out.

For three years Ecuador has been ruled by an autocratic oligarchy linked with financial concerns and making a show of its pro-American sentiments. It is carefully following the instructions of the International Monetary Fund. More than 100 persons have been killed by the police and paramilitary gangs. Torture is used systematically. This goes to show that the constitution is only a façade covering up the real dictatorship of the oligarchy and the monopolies.

Legalised crimes are committed not only by fascist dictatorships like Pinochet's or those that wrought havoc and abuse in Argentina and Uruguay. Crimes are also committed in the form of state terrorism in Colombia and, to a lesser degree, in Ecuador.

Latin America, which has never been through such a devastating war as the Second World War, must keep up its status of a nuclear-free zone. Through the joint struggles of our peoples and through international forums such as the United Nations and the Organisation of American States, our continent must make a significant contribution to peace and disarmament.

The countries of the Pacific basin welcomed with great satisfaction and hope Mikhail Gorbachev's statements in Vladivostok, calling for the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in that region and for efforts to promote its development.

As the inhabitants of an equatorial country, we do not want to be used in the efforts to militarise space, and we believe that the unlimited possibilities of the scientific and technological revolution should be used to help study the boundless expanses of outer space and use those expanses for peaceful purposes.

The United States has special geopolitical interests in Latin America. Some consider us their domain. But the traditions of liberation on the continent and the maturing of a new phase of social reform are already leading us out of Uncle Sam's backyard and enabling us to become makers of our own history. We are becoming independent nations in the process of social and national liberation. By our struggle and by changing the correlation of forces we are helping to create a new international economic order.

I would like to conclude by saying that the ideas of perestroika and glasnost are generating new dynamism, enthusiasm and faith in a socialist future among the revolutionary and democratic forces of our continent.

General Secretary of the Tunisian Communist Party

Muhammad HARMEL

Dear friends and comrades,

Within the limits of a brief presentation, the delegation of the Tunisian Communist Party would like to make a few comments as a contribution to this original, timely and meaningful meeting.

The first remark, the correctness of which is confirmed by this representative international meeting, is connected with a development that is undoubtedly new. This is a broad accord on some of the fundamental problems facing many movements and parties among which there are ideological and political differences, sometimes within the limits of one country, between the ruling and opposition parties. As we see it, this development, which this international meeting is a manifestation of, testifies to truly broad potentialities at all levels: the global, the regional and the level of individual countries. This is the beginning of a new movement which we must continue, deepen and expand.

We are sure that this meeting and this broad and growing accord do not mean that any side has to sacrifice its ideological principles or abandon its ideological and political struggle. This only means that ideological and political differences must not be an insuperable obstacle to dialogue and concord among various movements. Despite all their differences, they have many common problems, first and foremost, the problem of saving humanity from nuclear war, and the problem of detente which we link with development. We are confident that this will have a positive impact on Third World countries.

Thanks to the meetings and discussions, more "points of contact" have been found, especially as regards the universal threat of nuclear war, and meetings, discussions and cooperation can be of help in combatting that threat. We do not believe that Communist Parties today can claim to have made no mistakes or can announce some absolute truth, but we do believe that the historical experience with all its diverse manifestations since the time of the October Revolution has proved the development of the ideas advanced by Marx and taken further by Lenin to be correct; it has proved the ideological, historical and class choice of the Communist Parties to be correct.

Loyalty to this choice and to the fundamental principles in the cause of serving the working class and the people does not mean and cannot mean isolation or a refusal to engage in ideological and political cooperation with others.

My second remark is connected with what Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev called in his speech a new reading of the Marxist heritage and also with something that especially concerns our role in the liberation movement and in the Third World in general, namely, the need to review certain concepts, carry out a deeper analysis of new phenomena, and re-examine certain notions which seem perfectly clear. All this is important in order to

eliminate dogmatism and simplification. Since I cannot be more specific due to the lack of time and the nature of this meeting, I will only mention that in the Third World countries and in the liberation movement Marxism is called upon to expand theoretical studies aimed at defining the peculiarities of the new stage the liberation movement has entered with all its problems and complexities differing from those of the past, especially those of the 1950s and 1960s.

The perestroika is a fine example of revolutionary action on the road of renewal and a more profound analysis in the field of theory, ideology and policy. Irrespective of its forms and peculiarities, in its essence, scale and importance the perestroika goes beyond the tasks of intensifying socialist development in the Soviet Union. We welcome the perestroika and we are following its progress closely and with admiration, for it is giving a new qualitative impetus to the building of socialism in the USSR and is encouraging us to keep up the work the Tunisian Communist Party has been conducting for a long time to overcome formalism and stagnation and to reappraise the Tunisian reality and the situation in the Maghreb region and the Arab world as a whole.

The third and last issue is connected with the previous one. It concerns the countries of the so-called Third World, particularly those countries which gained independence in the 1950s and 1960s. I am speaking of the position of these countries because, irrespective of their political regimes and orientations, they are faced with the problems of inequitable relations and foreign debts which are undermining their economies and slowing down their further development; they are also subject to all kinds of dangers, including the danger of imperialist intervention. The Third World countries have entered a new historical period which is characterised by changing problems, goals and peculiarities of the various socio-political forces in those countries. This stage has revealed the limits of the possibilities open to the Third World and has shown the limited and even negative nature of the orientations prevailing in many Third World countries, including countries of the Arab world. These orientations have had a negative impact on the liberation movement as regards the mobility and depth of this movement and the participation of the masses in it.

Experience of many years shows that democracy is always essential. Without democracy and the involvement of the various active forces of a country, development planning and social progress are doomed to crisis and failure. The national-liberation forces of our countries should learn from the experience already acquired and grasp the requirements of the present new stage.

General Secretary of the Socialist Militant Movement (Mauritius)

Karl OFFMAN

Excellencies and dear comrades,

It gives me great pleasure on behalf of my party, the Mouvement Socialiste Militant (M.S.M.) of Mauritius and in my own name to convey to the people and government of the Soviet Union our warmest congratulations on the happy occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, and to you delegates from brotherly countries of the world our fraternal greetings.

We are now living in a world of turmoil and everyone is sincerely seeking more solidarity and deeper cooperation between nations.

We have today on this auspicious occasion a unique opportunity to call for a meeting of minds. Our final objective is to spare no effort to reinforce measures to preserve peace, to ensure equity and equality and to call for love and friendship. It is also a time suitable for deep thought on our problems, and this meeting will groom us to be a more energetic defender of world peace and equity.

World peace as well as the very basis of our human society is threatened today especially with arms proliferation. Every day we have to face the fact of hunger, poverty and misery. Our world is still one where the sun does not shine for everybody and where the winds of war are felt.

Our role is to stand up together and see to it that no true opportunity to advance freedom and peace is lost. This forum should be one of interchange of ideas, of enrichment where permanent solutions may be proposed for world problems.

No one should feel uncomfortable, whether he be on one side or another, provided the issue or solution serves the purpose of mankind and gives to man a new dimension.

This is why I am asking myself of what sort of solidarity are we talking when barriers are being erected everywhere and while the world is waiting for the results.

We yearn for a world where stability prevails and which is free from the scourge of war.

That is of course a dream. Everybody expresses peaceful intentions, while in fact we are still witnessing things which do not warrant from us faith in a better future.

We should not of course give up so easily because above all our innate feelings remain that man has so many things to offer. Generosity and goodwill still remain in the heart of every man. But to achieve what the world expects, we must not be satisfied with cosmetic improvements that won't stand the test of time.

This is why our task remains to advocate international cooperation and understanding and to foster a more stable relationship between ourselves and others, by pulling down barriers in communication and pursuing with honesty of purpose and sincerity real dialogue.

We all here, I am confident, want a new realism to spawn from our meeting and new results to be achieved.

Despite the psychological atmosphere of nervousness and instability created by major imbalances in the global payments system and though a new international economic order is still a dream, we should not lose hope that meetings like this one will provide for appropriate and long-lasting solutions.

Our challenge, I think, is to create a broader understanding among peoples and governments, to bring about a shift in the objectives that co-operation and solidarity are designed to serve.

We should have a more marked and stronger commitment to political equity and economic equality. We must not find the emergence of a different picture where issues of equality are broken down into subcategories of economic, gender and racial inequality.

Brothers and sisters,

Floating on the waves of the Indian Ocean, with only one million inhabitants, without natural resources or raw materials but with love, understanding, and faith in its future, Mauritius has succeeded where others have failed. This gives us hope for a world where multiracial, multilingual and pluricultural communities live in fraternity and perfect harmony.

Deputy Secretary General of the Mali People's Democratic Union

Amadou Baba DIARRA

Comrade General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee,
Dear comrades,

Allow me on behalf of the Mali People's Democratic Union, which I have the honour to represent, and also on behalf of the people of Mali to extend hearty greetings to the Communist Party and the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Using the occasion, I convey our best wishes for happiness and prosperity to the hard-working people of the USSR and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

It is perfectly clear that the Great October Socialist Revolution has played a decisive role in the tremendous progress of the Soviet nation and has had a great impact on the political, economic and social development of the whole world.

It is also opportune to recall the outstanding role that Lenin's party played in attaining the Soviet people's victory over Hitler fascism in the Great Patriotic War.

The victory over fascism and other reactionary forces encouraged a growth of struggles by peoples under colonialist oppression.

Loyal to the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has always shown solidarity with the peoples fighting for peace and justice, and for their national independence and sovereignty.

Contrary to this progressive approach to international affairs, reactionary forces, nostalgic of the once enslaved and oppressed Africa, are trying to dash hopes which have been born of the struggle of peoples for peace and freedom in the south of the African continent, in the Middle East, and in other parts of the world.

The Republic of Mali, loyal to its foreign policy course, will always actively support the liberation struggle of the enslaved peoples, a struggle they are waging for their inalienable rights trampled underfoot by imperialism, colonialism and other reactionary forces.

Within this framework, our country in cooperation with other countries committed to peace and justice will continue to work untiringly for strengthening international security.

That is why we think so highly of the Soviet leadership's initiatives for maintaining peace and eliminating all nuclear arms which constitute a threat to all of humanity.

Over the 27 years since its independence, Mali has always been loyal to a progressive foreign policy, despite numerous difficulties arising from

the country's geographical position, the world economic crisis, and the negative effects of more than ten years of drought.

I think I should refer here to Africa's main needs, to satisfy which it needs more effective international solidarity and more extensive support.

This is the attainment of peace which is needed by all of humanity. In this context we salute the CPSU's outstanding initiatives. Then, it is disarmament and here the palm belongs to the Soviet Union. It is also the attainment of freedom by countries that still remain oppressed, enslaved and destitute. For us, Africans of the Sahel zone, it is necessary that our countries become self-sufficient in food through irrigating more land and combatting the advance of the desert and the destruction of forests. It is necessary to build up manufacturing industry. We need assistance in establishing a health care and an education system to embrace all children. Finally, we need to get rid of the unbearable burden of debt which has slowed down and often disrupted efforts aimed at promoting development.

Such, dear comrades, are the ways by which our country can reach the goals set by our parties.

Dear comrades and friends,

In conclusion I would like from the bottom of my heart to thank the CPSU, the government of the USSR and the heroic Soviet people for the warm welcome and friendly consideration accorded to us which we have felt since the first day of our stay in your great country.

Long live friendship and solidarity among nations!

Long live peace!

General Secretary of the South African Communist Party

Joe SLOVO

Dear Comrade Gorbachev and dear comrades,

The General Secretary of the CPSU in his excellent and refreshing report to the joint festive meeting, spoke, among other things, of unequal trade as one of the factors which is currently essential for the survival of capitalism.

Attention was also drawn to the contradictory nature of the process which contains the potential of a future explosion and is even beginning to cause acute problems within capitalism itself.

Whether capitalism can or cannot function without the proceeds and practices of unequal trade is a profound question which must clearly receive analytical attention. But for the moment the current reality remains that unequal trade provides a great deal of grease for the imperialist accumulation machine. And this provides one of the prime motivations for imperialism's interventionist policies.

The various levels and techniques of intervention in the developing world are also dictated by another connected consideration which is based on the desire to stem the advance of the liberation process which is showing tendencies towards social emancipation. In other words the prevention of the growth of the socialist community is regarded by imperialism as both a local and international imperative.

In order to create and maintain a favourable climate for unequal trade and to prevent the flow of the liberation process, imperialism needs, above all, compliant neo-colonial regimes of a comprador nature.

Where such regimes are already in existence they are given support which is of some benefit to the upper crust. Where they are challenged by the people (as in El Salvador) they are provided with military means to help them meet the challenge. And where the democratic forces are successful (as in Nicaragua, Angola, Mozambique) they organise and launch bandit armies to reverse the victory.

All this brings us immediately to the area of regional conflicts which, as we know, create tensions beyond their immediate borders and which even create the potential of big power involvement.

Support by the socialist world (and especially the Soviet Union) for liberation forces is unendingly exploited by the capitalist media in order to present regional conflicts as originating in so-called Soviet expansionism and as connected only with struggles over spheres of influence. **The social issues affecting the people of a country which are at the real foundation of the conflict are invariably pushed into the background.**

It is clear from all this that, whether we like it or not, most regional conflicts have an international context and cannot be ignored in the balance sheet of factors which are relevant to the prospects of world peace.

We have a special interest in this question because Southern Africa is an area which is punctuated by conflicts falling into this category. Angola and Mozambique are threatened by bandit armies. Zimbabwe, Zambia and all the other frontline states face regular acts of aggression. **Namibia and our own struggle lie at the very root of our sub-continent's regional conflict.**

In general, both in the interests of advancing world peace and in the interests of minimizing the loss of blood in domestic struggles, the prospects of a political solution must never disappear from the agenda of revolutionary movements.

But, as we know, abstract desirability is not always the same as concrete feasibility. This is why political settlements and negotiation cannot be elevated to a fetish.

A political settlement on a world scale has undoubtedly become feasible because, among other reasons, the socialist sector, and especially the Soviet Union, has accumulated sufficient strength to force imperialism to think twice, if not three times, before launching a world adventure.

In the same way there are certain regional conflicts (and our own struggle is one of them) where the prospect of political settlements or real negotiations does not **yet** depend on diplomatic manoeuvre but rather on the building up of the strength of the liberation forces and escalating blows against the apartheid regime. Those are other areas where certain kinds of negotiating schemes are specifically designed to install the counter-revolution. This is the case with Angola and Mozambique which are being pressured by reaction to negotiate with Pretoria's bandit armies.

In our case, we are not claiming that there is an early possibility of a classical military victory or insurrection over the racist regime. But (as Comrade Tambo has stressed) there does not exist, at the moment, a real prospect of an acceptable political settlement.

This does not mean that those who run the apartheid state will never be forced to seat themselves around a **genuine** negotiating table. But it does define the immediate priorities. From an international point of view, these priorities are the following:

1. Support for the armed and political struggle of the liberation forces in Namibia and South Africa under the leadership of the SWAPO and ANC.

2. Strengthening the economies and defences of the frontline states.

3. Isolating the racist regime.

We have claimed publicly, and we claim again, that if comprehensive

mandatory sanctions were imposed, Botha would be sitting at a genuine negotiating table within a short time.

Even the limited sanctions so far imposed have begun to bite deeply into the pockets and morale of the ruling power bloc.

The prospects of more meaningful international action against Pretoria are stronger today than ever before. The main foundation for this has been laid by the internal struggle.

But there are other factors which improve the potential for concerted international action:

Firstly, the emotion-packed issue of apartheid cuts across the world ideological divide and attracts the deepest revulsion of millions of ordinary people in the West whose governments have been Pretoria's mainstay.

Secondly, the West faces a considerable dilemma on the South African question. It has lost faith in Botha's capacity, in the long run, to save this important prize for capitalism and its military alliance. But, on the other hand, it fears apartheid's most powerful challenger—the ANC-led liberation alliance—because it considers that a true liberation of South Africa poses a threat to its neo-colonial policy based on unequal exchange in the whole of our continent. Yet it has so far been unable to find a viable third force and is compelled to do some reluctant business with the ANC.

These factors (in combination) provide a more favourable scenario for the intensification of worldwide pressure against our racist tyranny.

Politburo Member of the Socialist Union of the Popular Forces of Morocco

Mohamed LAHBABI

Dear comrades, friends,

On behalf of the Socialist Union of the Popular Forces of Morocco, and with great joy, I address this unique informal assembly, which brings together representatives of all progressive forces. I am grateful for the invitation which enables me to outline here the stand adopted by our party on two key problems of our time: peace and development of countries which are known as developing countries. We are now on the eve of the conclusion of the first nuclear disarmament treaty between the USSR and the USA. This agreement will usher in a new era, which could culminate in step-by-step disarmament for the sake of universal peace and in the interests of what is known as developing countries, by the end of this century. This kind of agreement on nuclear disarmament will be the first real step in the implementation of the Soviet Government plan, made public by Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, on January 15, 1986. This plan outlines the main steps towards universal elimination of nuclear weapons by the beginning of the next millennium, specifies a stage-by-stage programme with concrete dates for the elimination of nuclear and chemical weapons, and provides for a radical cut in conventional armaments.

Thus, the efforts made by the Soviet government and the Central Committee of the CPSU between January 1986 and the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution, have borne fruit: peoples and mass movements are growing increasingly aware of the need to preserve peace in the entire world, which has found reflection in the attitude of the Non-Aligned Movement towards peace-related problems.

Since Morocco is an original founder of the Non-Aligned Movement, the Socialist Union of the Popular Forces of Morocco has the right to point out that genuine non-alignment includes protection of peace, support of all manifestations of goodwill and initiatives aimed at disarmament and the preservation of peace.

We are convinced that universal peace is humanity's single greatest possession. Development prospects and termination of regional conflicts depend on whether a new age will dawn in international relations, an age which precludes the use of military force, threats and violence.

The draft Euromissile treaty has to do with more than European countries; it also concerns the Maghreb countries, vitally interested in making the Mediterranean, which links them to Europe, a zone of peace, a place free from nuclear horror. Now, at the end of 1987, the so-called developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are staggering under the un-

bearable weight of foreign debt, which aggravates their already formidable economic, social and cultural difficulties. This delays the development of these countries even further. The external debt of developing countries has skyrocketed (in Morocco, for instance, it exceeds the annual national product). The measures taken by the IBRD, the IMF and international banks, all of which are concerned only about collecting interest payments, increase unemployment, deteriorate the already pitiful living standards among most of the population, slash investments and make development perspectives remote.

The Soviet Union has repeatedly stated that the disarmament programme is an effective means of providing aid to developing countries, of freeing them from the foreign debt burden by channelling the released funds to the developing world within the framework of international solidarity. We are dealing with a scheme of great mobilizing force—disarmament for the sake of development, a scheme that has been advocated by the Third World for many years. It is known that the collective debt of developing countries amounts to nearly a trillion dollars, whereas yearly defence spending is much greater.

The beginning of the third millennium could therefore be marked by both universal peace and the liberation of most nations from the burden of fear, squalor and backwardness.

All nations and countries of the world are becoming increasingly aware that the concept of international security includes not only military, but economic security, as well. They are perfectly ready to take part in a programme which guarantees peace and prosperity, and seeks solution of the problems on a world scale.

The Socialist Union of the Popular Forces of Morocco immediately voiced its support for the programme of peace and development formulated by the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is celebrated in a situation marked by the desire of all peoples for peace, particularly those peoples which are suffering from the effects of regional conflicts.

While it was possible to avert nuclear war for 40 years after World War II, there was no coping with regional conflicts, which continued to blaze in vast territories of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The endless, destructive conflict in the Middle East can be stopped only if the right of the Palestinian people to establish a sovereign and independent state on its own land is recognized by an international conference attended by permanent members of the UN Security Council and PLO representatives.

The bloody war between Iran and Iraq has been going on for over seven years. The war further complicates the explosive situation in the Persian Gulf and jeopardizes peace in the Middle East. The unanimously adopted UN Security Council's resolution No. 598, which was aimed at

putting an end to this senseless and dangerous conflict, received near-total support of the world public. The forces of peace and justice must show unbending resolve in the struggle for full and immediate implementation of this resolution. Security in the Gulf, regional detente and world peace are in the balance. Only a prospective agreement between the superpowers on a world without chemical and nuclear weapons, where conventional superarmament will be impossible, offers a chance of coping with regional conflicts and putting an end to the disgraceful apartheid regime and the war which South Africa has forced upon millions of Africans.

The programme put forth by the Soviet Union in January 1986 has opened a new chapter in the history of humanity. Let this programme ring out as a call of high significance and urgency, despite all the procrastinations and difficulties, today, during the celebrations of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. This would fill the peoples of the world with hope and confidence.

Secretary of the Board of the Workers' Party—Communists of Sweden

Rune PETTERSSON

Esteemed participants, comrades,

We live in an increasingly complex and contradictory world. Yet, we do live side by side and depend on each other in our international relations. The main problem for everyone today, no matter where one lives and works, is the problem of the survival of civilization. This is the single most important issue on the agenda. Rapid technological growth has created vast possibilities for the satisfaction of social and personal needs. Unprecedented horizons of social progress have opened. Yet these very technical skills have been used by man to create weapons of mass annihilation, which threaten all life on our planet.

The main threat to humanity lies in the enormous stockpiles of nuclear arsenals, along with chemical, space and laser weapons. Commitment of a small fraction, a decimal part of one per cent, of the nuclear arsenal now in existence would mean catastrophe and nuclear winter.

Is there a way to remove this threat, to disarm, to establish peace and security on Earth? A way to social progress? For one thing, we must realize that the old traditional concepts of war and peace would inevitably lead humanity to catastrophe if they are relied on in the resolution of international disputes and conflicts. We must therefore understand that in the age of nuclear weapons, no nation can defend itself only with military technology, and that war as a means of solving international conflicts must be dumped on the junk pile of history. Communists are not fatalists. We are well aware of the fundamental perpetual contradictions between capitalist and socialist social systems. We are also well aware that under no circumstances must these contradictions result in military confrontation. Only application of the principle of peaceful coexistence on the basis of mutual security can lead to disarmament, relaxation of tension and a more stable peace on our planet.

Today, more and more people are coming to realize the need for new thinking, to realize that the gigantic power concealed in weapons of mass destruction and the presence of a permanent threat to humanity point to the necessity for a reappraisal of the situation and a search for other ways leading to survival and social progress. The will of the people, regardless of their ideological, religious and political views or party affiliation, is gaining in scope and significance. People are beginning to understand that the madness named the arms race entails unheard-of economic expenditures and dire consequences. And this at a time when many peoples are suffering from hunger, poverty, and disease, which claim scores of lives.

In our contradictory world nearly a trillion dollars is spent on weapons every year. This figure equals the sum of the Third World debt. Numerous examples which characterize the present-day situation in these countries can be given here. Allow me to cite several figures.

Every day, 40,000 children die of hunger and disease. Eleven million

infants fail to reach 12 months. One hundred and twenty million children cannot study because there are no schools for them. Nine hundred million people live on 30 cents a day. Two hundred and fifty million are shelterless, and 550 million are completely illiterate. Six hundred million are unemployed; 2,000 million people cannot get safe drinking water, which causes 80% of all disease.

In industrial countries, human existence is threatened by environmental destruction, which is acquiring gigantic proportions and which leads to the death and suffering of millions. Anyone can see the absurdity, the sheer madness of spending enormous sums on weaponry while the economy of numerous world regions is on the verge of total collapse.

It is easy to see that if the potential of technological development, technology and resources were put to proper use, the way to the elimination of hunger and poverty, to a world where basic human requirements are satisfied, would have been opened. If we want to continue calling ourselves civilized people, if we want to be pertinent to and responsible for the destinies of mankind, we must act together for peace, disarmament and mutual security. Thereby we shall promote social, economic and political development, which can ensure the survival of humanity.

We, communists of Sweden, come from a well-developed capitalist country. It is a rich country, with vast economic resources, large deposits of raw materials and well-developed production capacities. We have been living without war for nearly two centuries now. The majority of our people, above all the working class, have played a decisive role in making our country a champion of peace, neutrality and a policy of non-alignment.

The people of Sweden are firmly convinced that the best way to peace and security lies through the purposeful implementation of the policy of neutrality in combination with an active contribution to the struggle for peace and relaxation of tension throughout the world.

The Workers' Party—Communists totally supports the policy of neutrality and all peace initiatives. Yet, we ask ourselves: what else can non-aligned Sweden do to consolidate security? Do the gigantic sums spent on weapons in our country, which amount to 30 billion kronor every year, correspond to the new situation, geographic location, defence of our country's borders and territories? Sweden plays a dubious part here: while advocating nuclear disarmament and reductions of armed forces in the international arena, it allocates more money for its defence each year. Sweden's defence assignations as per cent of GNP are similar to those in West Germany, a NATO country. These figures disagree with the political will for disarmament and security expressed by the country's leaders.

We, communists, believe that for Sweden the situation has changed in a big way. In our part of the world, where NATO countries and Warsaw Treaty countries stand face to face, possible military confrontation would inevitably result in a devastating nuclear war, which would plunge our country, against its will, into a nuclear inferno. The level and scale of the resources and potential of Sweden's defences would be totally irrelevant in

this event. We think that there is no danger of a conventional war in Northern Europe. In this regard, let me refer to the Final Act of the Helsinki Conference. I quote: "The participating States regard as inviolable all one another's frontiers... and therefore they will refrain now and in the future from assaulting these frontiers." This means that the border disputes which served as excuses for European wars have been settled by international law.

From all this we conclude that universal security and peaceful cooperation can be attained only through universal disarmament, that in the modern nuclear age it is impossible to use war as a means of solving disputes among nations. In this connection it is necessary to review the military's role, and establish new priorities in each nation's defence of its borders and territories.

In this regard, the WPC proposes that Sweden should become the world's first country to take upon itself the historic initiative of unilateral disarmament. In so doing, Sweden would appropriately respond to the new situation and promote the cause of peace and security in Northern Europe.

This action is certain to release formidable economic resources which can then be used for social needs: housing construction, improved health protection, care for the young generation, education and so on. (The cost of a single tank—60 million kronor—would be enough to build a school for 600 children).

Our country would then acquire considerable opportunities to make sizeable economic contributions and to supply material resources to developing countries, to eliminate hunger, want and suffering in regions struck by natural catastrophes. Assignations for scientific research, notably medical research, could be increased as well. Mankind could be helped to survive, instead of inventing diabolical methods of destruction and mass murder. Along with the saving of manpower and economic resources, it would be possible to deploy intelligence satellites and telecommunications to be used for warning of natural disasters and catastrophes. These systems could also help prevent environmental damage.

Such are just a few examples of the vast problems and difficulties which face us today, and which must become a signal for urgent action if conditions of life are to be improved.

Military disarmament and social armament offer the only chance of survival. All progressive forces must unite to act together against war and the arms race, to turn around, while there is still time, the course of events and to channel the vast sums which are at present used for military purposes, to social needs, to serve humanity, for survival, peace and security.

General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of the Philippines

Merlin MAGALLONA

In contemporary history, I cannot recall an international dialogue of the world's leading political forces so broad as this one. As a communist from a small and underdeveloped country, I share the pride that this meeting is made possible by the Party of Lenin and is taking place in the land of socialism born out of the October Revolution, which is on the seventh decade of unfolding its potentialities for the Soviet people and for mankind.

One thought occurs to me at this point. I wonder what kind of international meeting there would be instead had the Hitlerites succeeded in crushing the Soviet State in the Second World War. It would be instead a gathering of political blackshirts, fascist stormtroopers and the most reactionary forces for the purpose of stamping out the remaining vestiges of freedom and pockets of civilization.

This might not be simply wild imagination. You remember that recently under the auspices of the Reagan administration a conference was held of Mr. Reagan's "Freedom Fighters" who are in fact political terrorists and cutthroats of the likes of Savimbi and the contras, for planning out American support to be used for destroying newly acquired peoples' independence and for subverting progressive governments.

But ours is a qualitatively different meeting. We see clearly the demarcation line and where we are.

While we may speak from different political positions, two things may be held in common by all parties and movements represented here, namely: we are all interested in progressive change and we are concerned with the interests of the people. Our presence here, despite varying political viewpoints, rests on a common urgency that compels our cooperative and collective attention in regard to problems affecting vast masses of people the world over, problems which are shared in common by all inhabitants of this planet as a whole.

Indeed, as impressed upon us by the views presented in this meeting, the magnitude and gravity of the problems may overwhelm us, but there is one important point that emerges from our discussion, namely, that every political party represented here feels deeply its own responsibility for mankind. And this is the source of optimism in the face of the enormous difficulties confronting us. It is this deep sense of responsibility and concern for the fate of our people and the future of mankind that draws the demarcation line between "the new kind of thinking" and "the hegemonic egoism" of imperialism, to use the appropriate words of Comrade Gorbachev.

On the problems affecting no less than the survival of mankind and the

welfare of our people, there is one special element that creates urgency in our work, and that is that we have to act now to safeguard the future. It is the time element that compels action on our part.

One other striking fact should seize our urgent attention. The developments of science and technology in the last two decades have unfortunately been perverted by imperialist forces and, as a consequence, have simplified the process of human extermination or the annihilation of civilization, or the plunder of nations and the impoverishment of peoples.

In previous historical periods, we learn of waves of armed invasions through the ages perpetrating death and plunder on a wide scale, resulting in the annihilation of peoples and destruction of nations.

In our time, however, it would take only the finger of one man to push a button in a split second to blast the whole planet to nothingness, or the decision of a few madmen made in one quick moment to destroy nations or incinerate whole populations with weapons of mass destruction.

This is no abstract possibility. Some time ago, the American press quoted US President Nixon as saying in the middle of the Watergate crisis that he was still in a position to start a nuclear catastrophe by pushing the nuclear button.

And how small is the number of big-time capitalists in the boards of directors of transnational corporations who decide on the plunder of vast neocolonial territories and countries and control their economies? As time passes, more and more extensive human and natural resources in the Third World are coming under the domination of relatively fewer monopolists. For that matter, how small is the number of financiers and bankers who decide on the pauperization of nations through the unpayable foreign debt.

It is in this light that democracy becomes a fundamental problem of our age, in relation to which the October Revolution sustains its vital significance. For it was those glorious October days that radically changed the political function of the people. The people themselves have become the creators of society and decide on their destiny. It is in this context too that I appreciate the thesis of Comrade Gorbachev that today socialism is the alternative to capitalism, democracy in that fundamental sense being the essence of socialism.

How do these fundamental problems directly affect the life of the people in my country?

The two largest military bases of the United States are established in the Philippines. The nuclear weapons in these bases place the survival of the Filipino people in the hands of the US military forces. By what necessity, how, when and against whom will these weapons be used and for whose interests are they deployed on Philippine soil? These questions are not for the Filipino people to decide, not even for the Philippine govern-

ment to decide. These are issues which are for the exclusive decision of US politico-military leaders. Hence, the right to life — the central question of national sovereignty — hangs by some unknown contingency that is left to US imperialism to determine on the basis of its own military or strategic necessity. I do not think that US imperialism has improved upon this kind of brutality in any other country.

As to the problem of foreign debt, the $29.6 billion debt with 483 banks is causing an endless financial hemorrhage which at present stands at $2.9 billion a year for debt service and is consuming about 50% of the national budget. The consequence is an obvious deterioration of the economic and social conditions of the people, 70% of whom are now living below the poverty line.

These are just two modalities which connect the Filipino people to the global problems we are concerned about. I feel that many other peoples are faced with a similar situation and are on common grounds of struggle, together with the political parties and movements represented in this meeting.

Manfred SCHEUCH

Editor-in-Chief of the *Neue Arbeiter-Zeitung*, central organ of the Socialist Party of Austria

Esteemed hosts, dear participants,

Since I am present at this conference as an observer, I cannot speak on behalf of my party. As a social-democrat from Austria, however, I should like to make several comments in connection with what was said at this important meeting.

It is hardly necessary to stress that our federal government, which is led by socialists, as well as the Socialist Party of Austria, which adopted an appropriate resolution at its congress last week, support all disarmament initiatives to the best of their ability. In his speech at the congress Federal Chancellor Franz Vranitzky particularly stressed the active, positive role played by General Secretary Gorbachev in this process. Every sensible, responsible person is aware that preservation of peace on Earth is the single most important question today. This, however, does not free us from the need to discuss other important matters which frequently are related to this question.

I am satisfied to have heard General Secretary Gorbachev himself say that fear of the alleged Soviet threat still keeps Western public opinion from accepting Moscow's peace initiatives.

It was Gorbachev who said in his important speech that democratization of social life is the key problem on which the success of the Soviet Union's perestroika depends.

As a social-democrat I am convinced that socialism and democracy are mutually dependent notions, and I therefore agree with that thesis. In my belief, however, it contradicts the Communist Party's aspirations for undivided leadership. Wasn't this the reason behind the events which Mikhail Gorbachev criticized in his speech, and which resulted in such terrible and unnecessary loss of life?

What is the best way to protect people from such errors, crimes even, in the future?

As a social-democrat I am convinced that major bourgeois and socialist rights and freedoms do not contradict each other. On the contrary, democratic socialist freedom, if interpreted correctly, should ensure the extension of bourgeois freedoms, not their curtailment.

The constant flow of fresh air into all spheres of life ensured by democracy requires, however, reliable safeguards, which would make a return to criminal violations and arbitrary rule very difficult if not impossible altogether.

On the other hand, there probably exists the danger that, for example,

"the forces of conservatism", as Mikhail Gorbachev called them, would, if economic restructuring failed, return to former repressive methods in the political sphere.

Bertold Brecht, the great poet, had in his study a tablet bearing the inscription "The truth is concrete." So, allow me to raise a few concrete issues relevant to the set of democratization problems.

1. One of the greatest revolutionary gains of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism is the total independence of courts of law from the state, the so-called separation of power branches. Naturally, instances of class-tinted justice took and will take place in bourgeois democracies. On the other hand, independent courts often offer citizens protection from actions of the government and its bodies. My question is: Does the renewal in the Soviet Union foresee genuine guarantees of real independence and self-reliance for judges?

2. On its 70th anniversary the October Revolution is by right hailed as an event of world historic importance. Allow me, however, to say a few frank words here, as well. Even though every person of leftist political orientation recognizes the elimination of exploitation of man by man as the fundamental gain of socialist society, we social-democrats cannot put up with the fact that as a party, communists have shied away from adopting the system of peaceful competition with other socialist-oriented associations ever since the Duma was forcibly dissolved. Since Mikhail Gorbachev said that the February Revolution of 1917 possibly missed the chance of a peaceful transition, I take it upon myself to make a similar statement concerning the said event.

In any case, the fact that today's electoral system provides for a choice between several candidates, represents progress from the point of view of democracy. Isn't it advisable, however, to let the people choose between various ideas and programmes? The very errors and misconceptions of the past indicate that in a society without class antagonisms, there can also appear different opinions on how to solve assorted problems (today, it is sufficient to mention the set of problems related to the sphere of relations between ecology and economy). Why is it, then, that a well-developed socialist society cannot allow its voters to choose at least between people holding different opinions, if not belonging to different parties? That is, political pluralism of a new type, perhaps even with the formation of factions? I believe that Soviet society, one of the world's most powerful states, can today finally give up the notion that it continues to be in a state of perpetual siege, as was the case in the 1920s and 30s.

3. The Soviet press presents an impressive picture of a growing freedom of expression in the country. We all know, that was hardly always so, even though Article 50 of the Constitution contains relevant formal guarantees. The exercise of power by the Communist Party has for decades

meant monopolized formation of the public opinion. Will communists now find the courage to jump over their own shadow and understand that the new freedom of opinion in the mass media, which after all are not controlled by the millionaires, is a source of strength of their social system? Will communists take action to make this process irreversible?

These are a few of the questions which at present occupy the minds of many social-democrats. If time provides positive answers, then this will prove a more important confidence-building measure for people in the West than many similar undertakings in the military sphere could ever be.

Deputy General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Socialist Party of Uruguay

José PEREIRA

Comrades,

On behalf of the Socialist Party of Uruguay we convey fraternal greetings to the CPSU on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the glorious Russian revolution.

The October Revolution is an historic landmark of a new era, an era during which the tenets of scientific socialism were transformed into life. Scientific socialism is the guiding force behind our party, a force which provides for both cognition and active transformation of the surrounding world.

Uruguay is a small Latin American country, which recently rid itself of the dictatorship which isolated us from the rest of the world, a country where we socialists are fighting to neutralize the effects of the many years of authoritarianism. We are also searching for our own unique way towards socialism. At this point I would like to express several considerations about socialist goals, by way of a modest expression of gratitude to those who were responsible for the historic event we are celebrating today.

Socialist goals are historically characteristic of the struggle and consciousness of peoples, they are popular in spirit.

We are for democratic development which should ensure the construction of the foundations of socialist society whose outlook on the individual involves comprehensive development of personal moral values and creative talents. In this sense, socialism is, essentially, the synonym of humanism.

For us socialism means the extension of the concept of democracy, for it raises democratization and social self-management to a lofty level. This is valuable in itself, since it is a real gain, a tangible result of popular struggle.

Socialism is forged in accordance with different political schemes. It is attainable only if the realities of each individual country are taken into account. In such Latin countries as Uruguay, popular unity is expressed in the front which unites popular parties. In some other countries, unity is attained within a single party combining relatively autonomous positions. In still other countries, such as Nicaragua and El Salvador, the revolution is embodied in armed movements.

Democracy and socialism are inseparable, since democracy depends upon the existence of an institutional order under which it is possible to express and discuss various opinions, an order which gives society the opportunity to command the fruits of production. Socialism needs the one and the other to exist. For this reason, our programme is based on princi-

ples of democracy, representation, pluralism, and self-government, on national and international principles.

The Strategic Concept of the National Path to Socialism.

The Socialist Party of Uruguay regards the process that will usher our country into socialism as one entity, but a process that has various stages or phases. The first phase is the national and popular phase, when the front of popular forces, headed by the working class, will take the levers of power into its own hands and continue into the properly socialist phase in which profound changes affecting the foundations of economy and ideology will make it possible to build a society of justice, freedom and solidarity.

The prolonged crisis which presently plagues our country started in the 1950s with the erosion of the economic and financial structures which made our country a liberal state. In the 60s imperialism embarked upon a new strategic course in Latin America: expansion of transnationals and their penetration of our economy, accompanied by internationalization and the implementation of the "national security doctrine". This course enjoyed the support of the big bourgeoisie.

Meanwhile, popular, political and public movements formed on the continent, demanding better living standards. And so the national armed forces were made in the 60s and 70s a tool of capitalist strategy, a means of suppressing these movements.

The struggle waged by our people for justice, peace and liberty has been a long and difficult one. Yet, this period has given us such significant triumphs as Cuba and Nicaragua.

In the last few years we have witnessed the heroic struggle of the peoples of El Salvador, Chile and Paraguay, where many of our brothers have died so that democracy may be restored.

These were the conditions that shaped the fight of Uruguay's people against the dictatorship. Today, the people are resolved to defend democracy.

Proposals Submitted by Socialists.

In the last few years, our party formulated a programme entitled Democracy on a New Basis. We abide by this programme in the popular and national phase of the revolution, which centers around increasing participation of organized popular masses.

In the institutional-political sphere, we propose to put together a new institutional system which provides for and guarantees social freedoms, political pluralism, and autonomy for parties and trade unions. As for the role of the state, it is up to us to create an extensive network of organizations to attract all citizens to active participation in decision-making by state agencies and to supervision of the activities of these agencies. Revision of the role of armed forces in the life of the country with the main at-

tention given to problems of training and upbringing of young officers in the spirit of democracy will underlie the reform of this institution. This will result in the political defeat of the "national security doctrine", and will make it possible to elaborate a new and genuinely popular doctrine of national defence.

In the economic sphere, we must put an end to the policy of neoliberalism which is against the interests of our country. We propose to draw the most distinct possible boundaries between the state-owned, mixed and private sectors of the economy in order to attain greater justice in distribution of the wealth produced by the working people. We must improve the utilization of material and manpower resources and develop agricultural cooperatives.

In the ideological and cultural spheres, we single out two major elements: educational reform and a national discussion on legislation concerning ownership, concessions and the use of mass media.

Raising the banner of Democracy on a New Basis, we have in mind a specific form of social organization which differs from the authoritarian or the bourgeois-democratic model. The programme is a step towards socialism in Uruguay; at the same time, it anticipates the specifics of future socialism, a socialism, I should add, of representation, of plurality, with coexisting power centres and power distribution on many levels, which is quite different from the bureaucratic model which gives total power only to the state authorities.

Today, our party is working on the improvement of this strategy, aimed at establishing people's power in the presence of direct democracy and total development of its representative forms. This involves protection of the political-democratic process, institutional reform to allow freedom of democratic decision-making at the level of state and local authorities, and the fullest possible participation of public organizations.

We pay particular attention to trade unions and cooperatives. We also carry out a search of organizational forms for other social groups, for example, consumer groups, school committees, residential communities, self-management groups in the sphere of health protection, education, housing construction, organizations in peripheral and marginal development zones, youth associations and women's rights groups which oppose the existing patriarchal system.

In this way, we intend to create the basics of socialist democracy already now. Democracy is implicit in socialism, but socialism is not mere socialization of the means of production: it requires efficient government by the people.

Socialist democracy presupposes universal suffrage by secret ballot and political pluralism—since socialism is not the privilege of any one political entity, but the result of the activities of several parties. Pluralism, of

course, presupposes complete freedom of speech and action for all social groups which implement their platforms within the limits of legality.

Such division of power is to us a guarantee of individual freedoms, a retainer of independence from state authority for social movements.

We confirm our complete solidarity with the peoples fighting for liberty under the banner of internationalism.

I would like to end my speech with the words of Comrade Reinaldo Gargano, our General Secretary:

"We do not want to have to give anything to the people. We want the people themselves to participate and make gains. We do not reject representation; rather, we want it to be broad. For this reason, we are for self-government by the working people, and have always been critical of bureaucratic centralism. It looks like we have been right. It is not that we are reformists or revisionists: there can be no socialism without the people's participation."

Chairman of the Left Party—
Communists of Sweden

Lars WERNER

The October Revolution has profoundly altered the course of history. Its historic significance and dramatism are comparable to those of the Great French Revolution of 1789. Like the French Revolution, it too became an object of hostility for reactionary forces in neighbouring countries.

Just like the French Revolution spread its slogans outside France, the young Soviet state tried to spread its ideals throughout the world. It sought support from the international working class and, at the same time, tried to back up working-class struggles in other countries of the world.

Revolutions, however, have lengthy prologues and epilogues. People's notions about them change. At different times they are viewed in different ways.

What was the attitude of people of the 1860s toward the revolutionary developments of the 1780s and 1790s? The great powers of the time were engaged in large-scale hostilities in Europe. In 1830 there was another revolutionary attempt in France, and in 1848 a revolutionary wave rolled across all of Europe. Karl Marx wrote the Communist Manifesto. The first great working-class revolution in Paris of 1871 was only a little more than 20 years away. It was the revolution from which Lenin drew so many lessons.

It goes without saying that the masses and revolutionaries in the 1860s regarded the French Revolution differently than the revolutionaries and radicals in 1789. For they had already experienced victories and defeats. Old experience was supplemented by new. They saw many of the old simple theses collapse before the concrete difficulties which are so abundant in history.

It is not surprising that today we regard the October Revolution and post-revolutionary development differently than did those who took part in the events prior, during and after the revolution.

The belief in the imminent triumph of a world-wide revolution had been strong then. Today we know that the path towards a peaceful, socialist planet is both long and difficult. Humanity has lived through two devastating world wars. Today, we are threatened with new, even more terrible dangers. Old ideas and hopes have given way to concrete understanding and painstaking efforts to change society.

Our theory and practice evolved and changed, too. Old theses were reviewed, elaborated, and improved.

There is, however, a fundamental concept in the theory of socialism, arguably the most important one, which has today acquired greater signif-

icance than ever before. This concept is democracy and the struggle to attain it.

If we look back at our theoretical and practical work in the struggle for democracy, we will find a rich source of experience, the experience that stems from mistakes and defeats as well as from successes and victories.

The October Revolution helped the left wing of the social-democratic party in Sweden (that is, the part of the social-democratic party that subsequently formed the nucleus of our party, the Left Party-Communists) to make special emphasis on the importance of social conditions for promoting democracy. This was one of the factors that later left its imprint on the entire workers' movement in Sweden. And the latter's reformist wing had a strong social appeal.

We communists, however, continued to believe for a long time that the main cornerstone of democracy was social equality. At times we went so far as to **define** democracy as social justice and economic equality, which led to an underestimation of the importance of political democracy and to speaking of bourgeois-democratic illusions. We paid more attention to the democratic content of decisions taken than to the form in which these decisions were made.

As far as I know, many communist parties held this lop-sided and non-dialectic view on democracy for a long or short period of time. We, in Sweden, too fought against it despite the fact, or perhaps thanks to the fact, that the well-developed political democracy and the political rights and freedoms which exist in our country might, more than anything else, be the result of the struggle waged by the working class and left-wing forces.

Naturally, we are aware of the different settings for democratic development in socialist and capitalist countries. We consider social revolution to be a democratic upheaval in itself. But we also believe that it must be accompanied by the introduction of universal and equal suffrage, democratic rights and freedoms (such as freedom of speech, thought, religious pursuit and association). Upheavals take place in different spheres, and produce diverse effects. Political democracy does not necessarily entail social justice and economic equality. In Sweden, big financial capital continues, without the benefit of a democratic mandate, to govern economic development and to determine people's living standards.

On the other hand, it may be argued that socialist and social revolution does not automatically produce developed political democracy. Decisions promoting social and economic justice were hardly ever made in a democratic way, that is, with adherence to democratic forms and large-scale discussion among the masses. Such automatism is alien to history.

Today, many of those public and government bodies whose task is to ensure social justice and equality are coming under fire in capitalist coun-

tries, including Sweden. They are accused of bureaucracy, insufficient flexibility and a lack of democracy.

In many cases the criticism is well-founded. These bodies and authorities do not always act as they should, i.e., protect the interests of people in need. To the contrary, they act sometimes as a force dominating them. From the views of the Swedish bourgeoisie, those people's difficulties should be resolved by the privatization of these spheres so as to make the latter lucrative production facilities or lucrative services, with the profits going to private owners. The result would be that these services would forever fall out of the sphere of democratic control.

We believe that they must be **democratized,** that is, brought closer to those who need help and support, and better social services. Popular participation in decision-making should be developed.

I can well imagine that a socialist country which is not governed by financial capital can, nevertheless, encounter similar problems.

As I have already said, establishment of social justice by no means guarantees successful democratic development.

In capitalist countries we are well aware that our main objective is the struggle to give power to the working class, to enable it to influence production and economic life; that we must fight for **democracy** in these spheres, and that our goal must be the elimination of domination of the financial oligarchy. But we must also seek to democratize the governing apparatus in our society. Much of the state-owned sector is a result of the workers' struggle. This sector must therefore be protected, developed and democratized. Our social institutions must become more democratic.

Bureaucratic power over institutions and enterprises obstructs democracy in all spheres. This is true of both capitalist and socialist countries.

Bureaucracy hampers initiative, causes political apathy and slows economic development. As our party pointed out in its 1981 statement, which expressed our views on socialism and the situation in socialist countries, drawbacks in democratic development are a threat to socialism itself. Notably, we said:

"Restrictions on democratic rights and freedoms in socialist countries are an element alien to socialism, one which impedes its development. They curtail people's initiative and block resolution of contradictions in a fruitful open discussion. They are a brake on planned economic development and cause socialism to lose its driving force."

Our criticism had a purpose. We wanted to help socialist development with it.

We believed that as a part of the world socialist movement, our party was responsible for international socialist development and that such responsibility also made it our duty to criticize things which contradict socialist principles and undermine socialism.

Our criticism was harsh, but this did not mean that we were without hope. We said:

"The still existing considerable and systematic limitations on democratic rights and freedoms cannot be explained by historical necessity or a lawful right of socialism to defend itself. Experience, past and present, shows that these limitations have a demoralizing influence, undermine trust in socialism, and harm its prestige among the popular masses on which it should rely.

"Restrictions detract from the power of socialism's example for the working class of capitalist countries where it has gained certain democratic rights and freedoms. Restriction of democratic rights and freedoms in socialist countries is against the interests of both the socialist countries themselves and the working class in the capitalist world. **Through profound democratization socialism can regain its full political might."**

In the years to follow, some of our hopes were justified. In perspective, this will consolidate the socialist cause in the world.

So far, I have examined democratic development in such a capitalist country as Sweden, and such a socialist country as the Soviet Union. There exist, however, certain other aspects of democratic development.

Let us for a moment return to the social and economic aspects of the notion of democracy. A look at today's world uncovers striking poverty in numerous countries. Moreover, different countries lack equal prospects of development. Vast resources have been accumulated and developed in Western Europe and North America. The bulk of the world's industry is concentrated here. It is also here that technological development is the most advanced. The gigantic transnational concerns which dominate economic development of the entire capitalist world have their headquarters here.

In the Third World with its vast population, people lack the most basic things to satisfy their vital needs. Viewed from this angle, the world is suffocating from an extreme deficit of democracy. The centre stage is claimed by the social and economic aspects of democracy, which practically overshadow every other social problem. The situation resembles the one which existed during early industrialization in Europe. Today, however, it is further aggravated by colossal plunder of manpower and natural resources, and environmental damage.

If we look at the world from this angle, we shall immediately see that the struggle for democracy must include international solidarity which will help peoples in the developing world to win social justice and the opportunity to develop political and democratic institutions. This also involves struggle against imperialism and superpower domination.

It is not only from this point of view that our world appears to lack in

democracy. How many countries possess nuclear weapons? How many do not? To attain peace, more equal and more democratic conditions are required. Hence, it is not enough merely to start the process of disarmament: it is imperative to continue this process and to accelerate it in order that the spiralling arms race might be reversed.

In conclusion, I would like to thank the Soviet friends for their initiative in convening this meeting. In many respects, the organization of this meeting and the way it proceeded were more successful than such meetings in the past.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Panama

Rubén Darío SOUSA

Comrades and friends,

On the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Russian revolution, which resulted in the world's first socialist state, we can attest to the great magnetic force of this historic event. It was manifested in that for 70 years the cause initiated in the glorious days of the October Revolution by the Russian working class was purposefully pursued. The Russian working class opened a new era of civilization, and put the spotlight on the unified and undividable problem, the most important problem of many such problems facing humanity, the problem of ensuring peace in the entire world, universal disarmament, genuine democracy and social progress.

A retrospective look will tell us that the assignation of priority status to this problem by the Bolsheviks in the days of the Great October Revolution marked a turn in the history of human society, urging the masses to act on a world-wide basis, which is today reflected in the diversity of political movements expressing people's attitudes to these problems.

I am convinced that the list of problems which determine the content of the modern epoch must include the problem of socialist renewal. Since socialist society has shaped the appearance of our epoch, it is quite logical to assume that any phenomenon affecting the essence of socialism should also leave an imprint on the epoch itself. This communicates a significance to glasnost and perestroika, concepts which stand for the important changes implemented by socialism for the sake of peace, democracy and social welfare, which far surpasses the boundaries of the Soviet Union and the socialist community.

The huge social tasks put before our world by socialist influence in turn require socialism to be more effective as a condition for their successful solution. Objectively speaking, all social and political forces interested in sustaining and improving life on Earth require, one way or another, to this or that extent, consciously or subconsciously, the improvement of socialism as a positive factor for the realization of the massive aspirations of our times. We are dealing with an objective interdependence between the interests of the international community and the interests of socialism, which appeared in the course of the historical process. This means that the changes in socialism which are now being discussed, have been preordained by history.

All these problems of a general type find reflection in the events going on in our country, too. Panama is experiencing a process of the decolonization of a part of its territory, the Panama Canal Zone. This process, owing to large-scale participation of the masses, promotes the national sover-

eignty of our country, popular democracy and social progress. The resolution of Panama to attain complete liberation encounters the resistance of her arch-enemy, imperialist interests in the United States, since American troops will have to be removed from our soil in a little over 12 years.

The interests of US imperialists clash with the interests of our national liberation, since under conditions of a general crisis of the imperialist system of exploitation and oppression, and particularly in Latin America, imperialists believe that any progressive change, wherever it might take place, constitutes a threat to their national security. Using this neoglobalist approach, the imperialists regard Latin America as their backyard, an area where any disorders and conflicts impinge upon their vital interests. The existence of victorious Cuba and the invincible Sandinistas; the armed resistance mounted by popular masses in El Salvador, Colombia and Guatemala; opposition to Reagan's belligerent policies by the Contadora countries, the Support Group and the Esquipulas Group; universal rejection of preposterous conditions imposed upon Latin American countries by the World Bank and the IMF in connection with foreign debt—all this leads US imperialists to the conviction that their national security is in peril, and that any means are justified to counter this alleged threat. This imperialist stand is becoming increasingly tough in connection with the crisis which grips such Pan-American institutions as the OAS and the system covered by the treaty of mutual assistance among American countries, as well as in connection with their inability to provide the region with the necessary economic aid.

Implementing their neoglobalist schemes in Latin America, the imperialists naturally think of resorting to warfare in the region which they consider their backyard. Hence their new strategy of low-intensity wars, which is being perfected in the course of aggression against the Sandinistas and Salvadorean guerillas in Central America, as well as in research and operational centres attached to the Southern Command in Panama.

Low-intensity wars in Latin America require a special military mechanism, which is already being put together piece by piece, and in which Panama is a central unit. Imperialist intentions to involve our country in war on Latin soil run counter to the ideals of liberation, democracy and social development of our people, defies our will for peace, and chain us to the imperialist policy of world and regional wars, which is incompatible with the future of our state and society.

Since this incompatibility is recognized by large masses of our population, imperialists are trying to make us part of their warmongering plans by force, via the creation of a government under their total control, a government which would conduct a policy of repression after it takes the place of the present government. This is the cause of the crisis which presently sweeps across the nation. The imperialists need to establish their control

over our armed forces; they keep failing to do so largely because the patriotically-minded officers' corps created by the late Gen. Torrijos and presently headed by Gen. Noriega continues to keep the situation under control and categorically refuses to give in to pressure exerted by the bellicose oppressor. The concentrated campaign against Gen. Noriega is aimed at forcing a puppet regime on the country, which would support the policy of imperialist war.

The bilateral confrontation between our small country and the US government takes place in unbelievably unequal conditions. Only international solidarity can turn the tide in our favour. We are subjected to all kinds of intimidation, arrogant covert meddling, blackmail and economic repression. The US Senate has gone so far as to present us with an ultimatum, which lasts until November 9, and essentially boils down to this: should we refuse to change our government in accordance with US demands, we shall become target for aggressive measures of a political and economic nature, with military interference being a distinct possibility. Relying on powerful media of international information, Washington succeeded in confusing a considerable portion of the international community to weaken international solidarity with Panama and to attain its aggressive, hegemonistic objectives in our country.

It is only natural for a country such as ours—an oppressed nation, exploited by imperialists and living in degraded and humiliating dependence—to search for an alternative in the solidarity of the international community. In this struggle, this is necessary to maintain and consolidate popular resolve, particularly when, as in our case, national resolve coincides with the interests which inspire other nations to action, with the need to preserve life on Earth, with the cause of peace, international security, removal of the nuclear threat, disarmament, respect of people's right to self-determination, democracy and social well-being.

Realizing these truths, the communists of Panama cannot help but think, at this forum of various political forces of the world, whose representatives have come to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the event which changed the history of humanity, the October Revolution, that international solidarity has acquired a new meaning, which has manifested itself here and which will doubtless gain new impetus owing to the changes effected by socialism on the strength of its internal laws.

In this light, we count on growing solidarity with the cause of national liberation, peace, democracy and progress of the people of Panama in the face of the real threat and aggressive actions on the part of US imperialists.

Member of the Executive Committee, International Secretary of the Malta Labour Party

Leo BRINCAT

While congratulating the Soviet people on this historical occasion we feel that the festivities marking this seventieth anniversary gain added significance when bearing in mind that they have coincided with the announcement that we happen to be on the eve of the beginning of a new era of detente; an era within which a whole category of weapons could be eliminated for the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age. We hereby associate ourselves with the other Socialist International member parties present in congratulating you on this important occassion.

Coming from a small island like Malta which has recently entrenched its neutrality based on non-alignment in its republican constitution, such words give proof of our deep and sincere commitment to peace and stability both globally and regionally.

When agreement on the neutrality of Malta was reached between Malta and the USSR in 1981 these were the overriding objectives of the labour government.

— The need to remove the threat of war; curb the arms race and consolidate detente.

— As far as the Mediterranean was concerned, the need was reaffirmed for eliminating all factors which cause tensions in the region and for making the Mediterranean a zone of stable peace and fruitful and equal cooperation.

— Support for international agreements concerning the extension to the area of the Mediterranean Sea of confidence building measures in the military field; agreed reduction of armed forces in the region; the withdrawal from the Mediterranean of nuclear weapon carrying ships; the renunciation of the deployment of nuclear weapons in the territories of non-nuclear countries of the region and the obligation to be assumed by nuclear powers not to use nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not allow the deployment of such weapons in its territory.

Although we are now in opposition, we shall continue to support any initiatives geared at strengthening security and stability in the region wherever they may come from.

It is essential that confidence building measures applied to Europe also cover the Mediterranean. Such policies can only succeed if all other states acknowledge the fact that it is the Mediterranean nations themselves that really have vital interests in the region; for this reason we shall continue to support all those nations which have to date shown profound understanding of the desire of non-aligned nations to strengthen security in the

region as well as of those states which have long expressed their readiness to pursue dialogue with these countries in the interests of making this sea a zone of peace and co-operation.

On a purely bilateral basis we sincerely hope that the co-operation started under a labour government will be consolidated further, thus enabling socio-economic, commercial and political contacts between our two states to be intensified further.

The most striking aspect of CPSU General Secretary Gorbachev's report at the 70th anniversary festivities jubilee meeting is the new thinking and refreshing frankness which he has managed to insert without sacrificing any of the revolutionary principles and ideals.

In his own words democratisation of society is at the core of perestroika, the surest guarantee of changes both in politics and economics, whilst ruling out any movement or looking back.

We are confident that in launching this resolute struggle for the renewal of society the Soviet people will face these social economic transformations with the confidence called for at this juncture of historic responsibility.

In adapting to the new challenges posed by technical innovation and mass communication, the revolution in the Soviet Union is bringing about a new awareness coupled with changes in attitudes and mentality through the infusion of reforms which are no longer plans and concepts but part of the way of life.

Mikhail Gorbachev has said that a political, moral and psychological atmosphere has been created proceeding from the premise that socialism is a society of growing diversity of people's opinion, relations and activity. We feel that a new opportunity can be created and fresh momentum can be given to the ongoing process of dialogue and consultation with all those social-democratic, socialist and labour parties and mass organisations which are equally committed to the struggle for peace and stability through the efforts for disarmament and development.

General Secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Malta

Anthony VASSALLO

Dear comrades,

First of all, allow me, in the name of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Malta, to extend our most heartfelt salutations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. And now allow me to share with you some of the thoughts of Maltese Communists on this momentous occasion.

When talking of the Great October Revolution two trends automatically come to mind: imminence of profound changes and the liberating effect which let loose a mighty tide of national liberation. By socialising the means of production, putting an end to the exploitation of man by man, Soviet power, based on the power of the working class in alliance with the peasantry, broke completely the age-old chains of social and national oppression, established a system of equality of peoples who respect one another and extend mutual assistance. Under the socialist system the highest value is the satisfaction of growing needs and a complete revealing of the abilities of all men and women in the process of labour.

With regard to the liberating effect on countries such as Malta, which was always a colony of one European country or another, we owe our independence to the Soviet Union, born out of the October Revolution, who raised the question of fully abolishing the colonial system in the United Nations. That initiative, backed by other socialist countries, resulted in the adoption of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to the Colonial Countries and Peoples by the 15th UN General Assembly.

That Declaration, which proclaimed "the necessity of bringing to a speedy and unconditional end colonialism in all its forms and manifestations", and other UN resolutions stemming therefrom thus recognised on a world scale and as lawful the struggle waged by the colonial peoples for the attainment of independence.

It was once again the Soviet Union, through its representative on the special committee, who spoke in support of Maltese independence till it was achieved in 1964. Three years later diplomatic relations were established between the USSR and Malta. Thorough changes have occurred in the life of the Maltese people since then. Formerly a bulwark of imperialist forces and a fortress in the centre of the Mediterranean, Malta is now confidently following the road of political and economic independence.

Relations between the USSR and Malta are developing successfully, based on a solid foundation of mutually beneficial trade agreements. Soviet-Maltese cultural exchanges, and co-operation in health care and

medical science have further cemented the bonds of mutual respect between our two peoples.

Malta's independence is also reflected in the positive role it plays in the non-aligned movement. The Maltese people deeply appreciated the recent reaffirmation contained in the Soviet government's reply to the statement of the non-aligned Mediterranean Countries which took part in the Brioni Meeting. The Soviet Union, the reply says, deeply understands the non-aligned countries' desire to strengthen security in the region and expresses its readiness to promote dialogue with them with the aim of making the Mediterranean a zone of stable peace and cooperation.

The Communist Party of Malta highly appreciates the desire of the Soviet Union to safeguard universal values and to protect the life and well-being of the world's people. We regard the consolidation of the policy of neutrality and of the ties with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as being complimentary to this desire and as an important task that exerts a positive influence on the situation both in our country and in the Mediterranean as a region.

The test of twenty years of Soviet-Maltese relations has been the fact that the two major political parties in Malta—the Malta Labour Party and the Nationalist Party, which both started out as rabid anti-Soviets, have combined their parliamentary strength in order to entrench the principles of neutrality and non-alignment in the Constitution of the Republic of Malta. We take pride in the fact that the Communist Party of Malta has been more than instrumental in that direction.

With regard to the other principal thought the October Revolution brings to mind—the imminence of profound and constant changes in order to reveal and bring to the fore the abilities of men and women in the process of labour and in production relations—we are viewing the far-reaching changes under way in the USSR, the drive for perestroika and the many innovative practices of the CPSU with an inner feeling of tremendous expectations and hope of eventual success in full realisation that anything which is of benefit for the Soviet people and the CPSU is also beneficial to the whole communist movement in general.

As an obligation inherent in proletarian internationalism, we do not for a moment forget the enormous burden of responsibility carried by the CPSU since the Great October and we feel it incumbent upon us not to distance ourselves from or disassociate ourselves from the problems or difficulties of building socialism. We have rejoiced in its achievements and want to be involved in its constant renewal without renunciation of final goals.

In our approach to practical work, our party has always been guided by the need for discussions and exchanges of views not only involving those who are like-minded, but more important still, conducted within the

framework of broader forums in which all advocates of progress, peace, international cooperation and disarmament take part.

The need for a new way of thinking which was discussed at the 27th Congress of the CPSU and at the congresses of several other fraternal parties is linked with the development of human consciousness in a critical period when humankind is facing the dilemma of self-destruction or self-preservation. How does this new way of thinking relate to the Marxist tradition of a class-based approach to political problems in general and to issues of war and peace in particular? Does the new approach signify a change in the traditional communist interpretation of the inter-relationship between universal and class-based values?

These questions and many others we need to vigorously debate, hence our presence here today is not only to commemorate the Great October but also to renew ourselves, taking advantage of the opportunity provided for unencumbered exchange of ideas, dialogue and assessment.

General Secretary of the Communist Party of Ireland

James STEWART

Comrade Chairman,
Comrades and friends,

The Communist Party of Ireland welcomes this opportunity provided by our Soviet hosts to make some points on our attitude to building alliances in the struggle against imperialism—for peace, democratic rights, national independence and socialism.

It is clear to every Marxist that the working class can discharge its historical mission as the most consistent and advanced champion of national liberation, social emancipation and peace only if it succeeds in rallying around it all working sections of the population, all actual and potential allies. The creation of a broad anti-monopoly, anti-imperialist front remains one of the most important tasks for the proletarian party. Both past history and current developments prove that embodying the objective community of interests of the working class and the overwhelming majority of the people in concrete political agreements and alliances is a difficult but extremely promising undertaking. Its success is essential for the outcome of the struggle for the revolutionary transformation of the exploitative capitalist society, i.e. for the attainment of the goals Marxist-Leninist parties have been established to reach.

In its policy on alliances the CPI draws on the rich historical experience of the world communist movement. We have recently been recalling again the events of the 1930s and the decisions of the 7th Congress of the Comintern. That forum summed up the struggle of the Communists in different countries for influence with the masses and put forward the slogan of a broad popular front against war and reaction. Much of the ideological legacy of those years prompts new conclusions today, urging reappraisal of the strategy of alliances in the light of the changes that have occurred on the international scene.

The record demonstrates that today, just as 50 years ago, the formula "those who are not with us are against us" would be wrong. This attitude invariably rejects many allies who could be with us on certain issues. The fact that this approach is too narrow is particularly obvious now that we are dealing with the issue of human survival. The Seventh Congress showed that Communists were resolved to be guided by the slogan "those who are not against us are with us." Today it is becoming increasingly clear that we should go further on the peace question and look for common ground, sometimes even with those who are against us in class objectives.

We find many people who are anti-socialist but who sincerely want to see this world exist, they want to see the planet without nuclear weapons

They are against us on the class questions, but they can be with us in the peace movement. People who reject the question of the emancipation of the working class and the construction of socialism can cooperate with the Communists in many spheres. All this is borne out in the course of our day-to-day struggle in Ireland.

For example, there are people who are with us on issues of democratic rights in the North of Ireland but who would not necessarily want a united Ireland. Do we reject those people? Of course not. Our concept of alliances calls for the broadest possible spectrum of forces to participate in the democratic and human rights movement.

Or take the efforts to combat unemployment. Of course Irish Communists recognise that this problem can be definitively solved only by the building of socialism in a united Ireland free from imperialist domination. But we are ready to join all who fight for jobs, even for a limited programme which can improve the employment situation. You do not have only Communists engaged in the fight to maintain the shipbuilding industry in Belfast—you also have members of the Right-wing Unionist organisations who are our opponents on the issue of national unity and independence.

Or take the attitude to the EEC. Its policies today run counter to the interests of different social strata. And so it is important for the Communists not only to organise joint action by the working class but also to win support from farmers and small businessmen.

In other words, the development of an anti-monopoly alliance around issues of democracy, jobs, economic development and prevention of war should not be restricted to those forces who want to see society transformed. Forces which could not be mobilised around the slogan of struggle for socialism can be mobilised on the issues of defending peace, securing the right to jobs and upholding democratic freedoms.

At the same time, it is important to remember that while working together with all these social forces, winning their confidence and leading them, Communists must be true to their fundamental approach on such issues as unity of Ireland, defence of democratic rights, attitude to the EEC, or preservation of peace. We cannot adapt to our partners in the Biblical spirit of being "all things to all men" and lose our identity in the process. We cannot turn into political acrobats doing somersaults. We present our position without dictating to people, and we make it clear that we will work with them whenever we can.

Unity is born of struggle. Struggle is what produces firm anti-imperialist alliances of the working class with other sections of the working people. Flexibility in building these alliances does not mean that the Communist Party becomes dissolved in broad movements. On the contrary, the emphasis is on strengthening our Marxist-Leninist ideology and our distinctive identity as a united communist party for the whole of Ireland.

All experience since and before the Great October Socialist Revolution demonstrates clearly that a Communist Party must not be allowed to turn into a conglomerate of ideologically divided groups jawing at each other. The Communist Party of Ireland at its 19th Congress in January 1986 laid specific emphasis on the principle of democratic centralism, on explaining to our members that there cannot be centralism without democracy, just as democracy is impossible without centralism. The unity of a communist party with other anti-imperialist forces requires first of all the unity of its own ranks on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

General Secretary of the Party of Progress and Socialism of Morocco

Ali YATA

Dear comrades and friends,

On behalf of the Party of Progress and Socialism we congratulate and thank the organizers of this assembly which, despite its informal character, is certain to be of great value.

Because every speaker is allowed just ten minutes I will touch only briefly upon several subjects which mainly concern the Third World.

Immediately after the October Revolution, whose 70th anniversary we are celebrating today, the planet's first socialist state resolutely embraced the cause of protecting world peace. This is particularly well illustrated by the post-war period, when the peoples of the USSR made tremendous efforts to prevent conflicts under conditions when these conflicts, considering the sophistication and destructive power of modern weapons, are tantamount to catastrophe.

Forty-two years after the fall of the Reichstag, there has been no war on the fire-scorched, tear-soaked and blood-drenched lands which became the site of insane Nazi aggression. In this we see a notable distinction of international relations in the second half of the 20th century, a distinction by and large attained due to the Soviet Union's peaceful, wise and shrewd foreign policy.

In our day, this is confirmed by new international events, particularly by the pronounced positive shifts in Soviet-American relations, including progress made at disarmament talks. The inspiring successes achieved in the recent period in this sphere clearly testify that the set objective is realistic to attain in the relatively near future the elimination of medium- and shorter-range nuclear weapons and even strategic armaments, along with their delivery vehicles. We owe this above all to the efforts of the Soviet Union, which continues to come forth, on the initiative of its leaders and particularly Mikhail Gorbachev, with solutions and constructive proposals aimed at the termination of the arms race and the elimination of the thermonuclear threat. Allow me to express the warmest gratitude to the Soviet Union!

Dear friends, comrades,

While the Western world and the Soviet Union have not experienced the horrors and ravages of war since 1945, events have taken a different turn in the so-called Third World. In the post-war period, dozens of bilateral conflicts and regional wars took place there, devastating vast territories, claiming tens of thousands of lives and setting back the struggle for development and liberation waged by the peoples, the overwhelming majority of which have only recently escaped the gloom of colonial oppres-

sion. In most cases it was imperialism that provoked, directly or indirectly, these senseless bloody conflicts, thus trying to slow down the clock of history and to continue to oppress and exploit, albeit with new methods, peoples yearning to become masters of their destinies.

These conflicts, even if they are on a local or regional scale, have always been fraught with great danger for universal peace and have considerably destabilized international relations. The persistent character of these extremely negative phenomena continues to exert a strong destabilizing effect on the international situation. It is these conflicts which rank among the major factors perpetuating dangerous situations that are difficult to solve.

This state of affairs has direct, tangible advantages only for the cannon traders. Huge sums expended by Third World countries to purchase sophisticated modern weaponry are a challenge to common sense and a real crime against the various needs of the peoples most of whom for centuries were under the feudal yoke and colonial exploitation. It is difficult to find a more striking, grave and at the same time instructive example than the bloody conflict between the neighbouring states of Iran and Iraq. This destructive and all-out blind war has been going on for over seven years now causing tremendous damage to the two fraternal peoples, reducing the industrial base almost to zero, decimating the infrastructures of the two countries, and allowing imperialism to return to the Persian Gulf region, bringing powerful naval armadas there for an unspecified period.

Everyone knows that the conflict in the Persian Gulf is fraught with the danger of becoming an international one, of sparking a superpower confrontation at any moment. On the other hand, the littoral states have found themselves in difficult situations of varying degrees. They are now in danger of being dragged into a war they do not want and can hardly hope to survive.

Finally, the Western powers, on the pretext of protecting free shipping in territorial waters, are consolidating their presence in the Gulf, a presence which is a direct threat to the independence and freedom of choice of the region's countries.

The perpetuation of this situation is very dangerous. Today, more than ever before, a peaceful settlement of the Iran-Iraq conflict is needed through negotiations, including those on the basis of substantiated resolutions adopted by the United Nations and its Security Council. This also highlights the immediate need to withdraw all foreign navies from the Gulf and substitute them with a navy operating under the UN aegis. Only then will it prove possible to find the ways and means for reducing the threat of an all-out war in the Persian gulf and to create an opportunity for the warring sides to negotiate.

This region also harbours another hotbed of tension—the criminal

subversion aimed against the people of Palestine, which has been going on for several decades and which is truly unprecedented. Despite international solidarity, the consistent support of the socialist community headed by the USSR and the fraternal support extended by other Arab nations, the Arab people of Palestine have not been able to win recognition of their inalienable right to build an independent state on their territory. Certain progress has been made, specifically when the need to call an international conference on the Middle East was recognized. The conference is to be held under the auspices of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council with the participation of all interested parties, including the PLO—the only legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. However, the Zionist state of Israel has itself refused, and blocked the attempts of others, to seek a solution to this problem through negotiation. The support extended by imperialism to the Zionist hawks is one of the most powerful factors impeding the settlement of this problem, which threatens not only regional but global peace.

In this connection, we can only deplore the division among Arab states, whose relations are still marked by fratricidal conflicts and wars arising from disputes of secondary importance. This is very damaging to the defence of common goals and enables imperialist powers to take advantage of minor disputes in order to drag out indefinitely their presence in many regions of the Arab world. It would be very good if the coming Amman summit, in which all Arab countries have expressed their desire to participate, confirmed the Fez agreement and attained the much-needed coordination of action without which a positive solution in the Middle East is impossible.

One of the more convincing illustrations of the deplorable state of affairs is the tension being artificially maintained in North Africa, a situation which persists despite the efforts, patience and realistic approach of those who are in this way being denied their legitimate right to national unity.

After a group of separatists, left-wing radicals and other extremists decided to establish a state like the one created by Franco—the Sakhara Republic—on a part of Moroccan territory occupied by Spain, there were those who thought this goal corresponded to the laws of historical development and serves the cause of progress in the region. A period of tension and armed clashes has set in, which has lasted for 12 years now. Every day this period costs Morocco more than two million dollars. Miscalculations were made which did not provide for Morocco's inalienable rights, did not take into account the specific conditions of our country, its traditions of anti-colonial struggle, the deep love of its people for their land, their patriotism, the sound and responsible positions of Morocco's positive forces, which include the revolutionary vanguard of the working class.

Miscalculations resulted in a situation just the opposite of what had

been expected: forcible imperialist intervention in the region. This serves the cause of neither the Moroccan people, nor the Algerian people, nor progress and socialism.

Morocco fully agrees to a referendum under the UN and OAU aegis on the issue of self-determination of its Sakharan provinces, and is willing to abide by the results of this referendum. Meanwhile, Morocco would like to normalize relations with fraternal Algeria in accordance with the agreements reached by the heads of our states this May and to establish large-scale, all-round and mutually beneficial cooperation.

The people of Morocco, as well as the fraternal peoples of Algeria and Tunisia are working hard to create a Great Maghreb. The first stage of this process calls for these countries to reach agreements respecting one another's specific features.

Dear friends and comrades,

There are problems which are much more important and pressing than artificial, fruitless conflicts. They include apartheid and the destruction of the disgraceful system of segregated national development, the independence of Namibia, respect for the borders and sovereignty of states neighbouring on South Africa, elimination of hunger and illiteracy, the fight against backwardness, drought, etc.

All these issues and goals demand coordinated action and the unification of all anti-imperialist forces, which is all that more important today when new threats have been posed to the future of the Third World.

The continued structural crisis of world capitalism, the growing protectionism in the West, the deliberate lowering of the prices on raw materials by capitalist purchasers, even though raw materials are frequently the only wealth of developing nations, rob these nations not only of the possibility to finance their development, but also of the basic ability to survive as a state. The size of the Third World debts and objective impossibility of repaying them require a conscientious approach and urgent international action to give the peoples of the South the means to subsistence and to guarantee them justice and progress. We would be glad to discuss all these problems together at our next meeting.

Acting General Secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand

Marilyn TUCKER

Dear comrades,

On behalf of the Socialist Unity Party of New Zealand I would take the opportunity offered by this international meeting to congratulate the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

I also bring greetings to the broad left forces that are represented here. Our party welcomes the growing cooperation and unity within the world's democratic and progressive forces and sees it as an essential element in the struggle for peace, for humanity's survival.

These are the burning issues of our time, wherever we live. The only path with a future is that towards a nuclear-free world. Peaceful coexistence has long been the critical condition for the survival and security of all.

New Zealand is making its contribution on this vital question. And we would like to point to the similarities of our general experience with that raised yesterday by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of Sudan. The struggle for peace in New Zealand did not grow until it ceased to focus entirely on Europe, and took on forms that meant something to the mass of the people. A nuclear free New Zealand and South Pacific provided concrete, understandable goals which quickly fired the people to action. They have been instrumental in helping people see how their security is linked to international peace. The banning of nuclear vessels from our country's ports by the Labour Government and the consolidation of this policy in nuclear free legislation was a significant milestone for the peace movement both at home and abroad.

New Zealand communists consider this to be an important victory. It directly expresses the country's own national interests, and at the same time, fulfills its international responsibilities in moving towards a more secure world.

Communists actively participated in the struggle for this development and are now involved in its defence.

Significant in this sense was the re-election of the Labour Government in August. The SUP supported and actively campaigned for the re-election of the Labour Government, even though we have serious differences with its economic policy—a policy that brings increasing hardship and burdens to the working people.

Our policy is to unite with the Labour Government on those policies, such as peace, which are in the people's interests, and struggle against them on those that aren't. This is the position our party has taken since the Labour Party came to office.

The peace sentiment in our country has grown significantly over recent years. Today 70% of New Zealanders support the Labour Government's nuclear free stance. This is a level of support which crosses the political spectrum. It is a level of support which has developed in the face of marked opposition both internally and externally. A massive campaign was waged by the US and some of its NATO allies, including Britain, to bully the country into reversing our policy. It is a level of support that is so strong it has compelled the opposition National Party to step back from its hard-line rejection of nuclear free politics.

Confronted with such overwhelming pressure during the election campaign, the National Party was forced to reassure the electorate that, if elected, it wouldn't change the country's nuclear free status. In retaining it, however, it wouldn't challenge the "neither confirm nor deny" policy of the US and UK. It would "trust them" to comply with our nuclear free requirements. This wasn't good enough for New Zealand and it decisively rebuffed the conservatives.

The path the Labour Government has embarked on heralds the beginning of New Zealand's coming of age in foreign policy: it is the first time it has taken a position independent of the US and UK.

The South Pacific has changed immeasurably in recent years. It is no longer a pacific Pacific. A new seat of tension has erupted in the world.

The most dramatic expression of this was the military coup which toppled the newly elected Government of Fiji this May.

This was the first military coup in the South Pacific. It brings a whole new dimension to the region's politics with threatening implications. Already a second coup has taken place. Again in Fiji. This time it was to stop the agreement, which had been reached on taking the country back to democracy, from being put into effect.

The previously peaceful and stable region has also suffered political assassinations, with the murder of Belau's President and just recently, the father of one of its most prominent peace campaigners.

It has been subjected to state terrorism with the bombing of the **Rainbow Warrior** and the murder of one of its crew in New Zealand's Auckland harbour by the French Government. The independence struggle in Kanaky, the French colony of New Caledonia, is faced with more violent oppression. And just last week reinforcements of French state forces were rushed to Tahiti to quell a strike of dockers refusing to service Mururoa Atoll.

From this we can see that the interests of those struggling for independence and the region's peace forces are inextricably linked. They are brought together in the slogan "For a nuclear-free and independent Pacific." It is important to understand the strength of emotion that has fueled the growth in the interlocking peace and independent struggles in

the South Pacific. The people are angry. They have borne the brunt of the nuclear age, and are saying: "No more".

The US, Britain and France have used the region to test their nuclear weapons with no regard for the people or their homelands. The Pacific peoples don't want any more islands destroyed. We don't want to suffer anymore from the increasing rates of cancer and other radiation diseases. We don't want our sea and its resources polluted with the dumping of nuclear waste.

We want an end to French nuclear tests!

We want a comprehensive test-ban treaty!

These demands are in the world's interests, not only in the vital area of arms control, but also to protect the earth's environment. We cannot harm the environment in one part of the globe without it having repercussions elsewhere.

Fiji's election in April this year of a coalition government led by the new Labour Party was of particular importance for the region's expanding peace process. The new government was elected on a policy of banning visits by nuclear vessels, non-alignment, improving the position of working people and racial equality. These were policies urgently needed by the country and its people. Much effort has been spent to make it seem that the country's ethnic division was the reason for the coup. In fact the coup has been used to stir up racial tension between the ethnic Fijian and Indian communities.

For the real reason we must look elsewhere. Fiji has been chosen to replace New Zealand in the provision of port facilities for US warships and for a new regional alliance with the US and Australia. Had Fiji been able to implement its nuclear free and non-aligned policy it would have considerably strengthened the Rarotonga treaty. It may have helped persuade those countries who hadn't signed it because they considered it too weak to do so.

There can be little doubt that local and international reaction joined forces in the military takeover. But there can be no doubt about the responsibility of the progressive forces in the region and in the wider international community to help restore democracy in Fiji. Fiji was an immediate victim, but there were other targets, namely, the South Pacific Forum and the whole process of developing unity.

The South Pacific Forum has been marked for the role it played in establishing the Rarotonga treaty and for getting New Caledonia reinscribed in the UN list of countries to be decolonised. For the marksmen we need look no further than the three major powers who refused to sign the Protocols to the Rarotonga treaty. The Forum's unity has been undermined as the racial tension stirred up by the Fiji coup spilled over into Melanesian nationalism.

The important gains made in the South Pacific have been accompanied by setbacks. The stronger the forces for peace and independence have become, the more bitterly reaction has tried to smash their advance and force the movement back.

But the overall direction is forward and we are confident that the peoples of the South Pacific will overcome their difficulties, find solutions to the questions on which they now disagree and go forward together, consolidating the achievements they have already made. Building on the Rarotonga treaty we will move towards a truly nuclear free and independent Pacific.

With similar principles inspiring broad progressive forces to work together in other sectors of the globe, humankind will reach that beckoning goal of a nuclear free world; a world free from war and destruction.

Member of the Central Committee and Treasurer General of the Botswana Democratic Party

Ponatshego KEDIKILWE

Comrade Chairman,
Comrades and friends,

Seventy years ago this week the people of the USSR broke the shackles of oppression and repression. A new era was born, new avenues were opened up. This era and these avenues heralded a new vista of hope, a new life, the dignity of self-determination.

Comrade Chairman,

It is therefore a great pleasure, honour and privilege to have been invited by the Communist Party of the USSR to participate in the events of this historic occasion. It is a great pleasure to deliver on behalf of my delegation and on behalf of the Botswana Democratic Party and its leader Comrade Quett Masire and indeed on behalf of the people of Botswana a message of goodwill and hearty congratulations.

I wish to recall with satisfaction that it was only four months ago that a delegation from the Communist Party of the USSR participated in the events of the 22nd Congress of the Botswana Democratic Party. Needless to say, these developments are building blocks for greater cooperation and understanding.

Comrade Chairman, before I make one or two points I wish to take this opportunity on behalf of my delegation to thank you and the leadership of the CPSU and indeed the people of the USSR for the warm welcome and cordial hospitality. My remarks will be short because I want to associate myself with the remarks made by my colleagues from Zambia yesterday, I must add, the remarks made by Zambia, Chairman of the OAU and Chairman of the frontline states.

Mr. Chairman, your speech last Monday emphasized an important concept, an important idea. It is by no means a new idea. But I think your sharp focus on it adds new vitality, possibly new form, but certainly new dynamism. I am referring to the concept of perestroika.

I read into perestroika much more than maximizing returns and minimizing overheads. I think perestroika is universal and aims at improving the standard of living of our peoples. I see the properties of perestroika as assessment, evaluation, introspection and perception,to state but a few. I think the dialectics of perestroika are many and varied. This variety must include: what pieces of legislation including labour laws do we pass to promote perestroika; apart from what we say, what do we as politicians do, and I am one of them, what do we do to promote perestroika; there can be no effective cost accounting unless we mould worker attitudes in the spirit of perestroika. The dialectics of perestroika must entail helping the men

and women in the villages and fields to understand and participate in perestroika. The dialectics of perestroika then are complex and deep-rooted. And it would not, therefore, be possible to do justice to a complete analysis in the short time allowed.

Comrade Chairman, the subject of peace has been adequately covered by previous speakers during this invaluable get-together. I only wish to say that peace is a better ambiance for perestroika. I also wish to say that ordinary citizens the world over do not want war, except perhaps those who benefit by it and thrive on it. In this regard, we therefore wish to take this opportunity to salute you Comrade Chairman and those who are taking the initiative to bring the world back onto the path of Sobriety and Sanity. For we believe that self-destruction is not and cannot be sane. We would all breathe a sigh of relief if some modicum of security were restored, if some ray of hope were restored and if some measure of confidence were restored.

Comrade Chairman, I wish to say that it is a sad observation that we continue to live side by side with the system of apartheid. We continue to grapple with the problems of a system that is morally arid and unacceptable. The apartheid system is physically impracticable. The apartheid system is socially, economically and spiritually destructive. Yes, the problem is apartheid.

The ANC, SWAPO and other organisations that are used as scapegoats for repressive and inhuman laws are in fact in a sense creations of apartheid because if there were no apartheid these organisations would either not exist or would have taken a different form.

Neighbouring states are destabilised by apartheid. The black people of South Africa and Namibia, including children, are saying "no" to apartheid. The people of the frontline states are saying "no" to apartheid no matter how many times their innocent men, women and children are killed in cold blood and their properties needlessly destroyed.

The people of Southern Africa have not only grouped themselves as frontline states, they have also grouped themselves as the Southern Africa Development Coordination Conference, known as SADCC, as a measure towards economic independence particularly from South Africa.

We appreciate the support we receive and the understanding we enjoy from progressive forces of the community. We take comfort in the knowledge that we are on the side of truth. And truth is indestructible even with the instruments of oppression and racism.

Before I conclude, Comrade Chairman, I think in the future we might use one of the sessions to conduct our business more informally with shorter and more pointed exchanges and spontaneous reactions. Otherwise we reduce an invaluable opportunity to what a distressed poet said in

referring to the world. He said it was a place where "men sit and hear each other groan..."

In conclusion, I wish to salute you, Comrade Chairman, on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution. I take this opportunity once again to deliver the message of goodwill from the people of Botswana to the people of the USSR and the leadership of the Communist Party of the USSR and wish you and your people well under the dynamic banner of perestroika.

Chairman of the Communist Party of Norway

Kåre Andre NILSEN

Dear comrades,

I should like to comment on the situation in Europe and on how Norwegian Communists feel about the responsibility of this continent in the present situation.

I proceed not from narrow chauvinist, Eurocentrist interests, but from the simple fact that it is here that so many nuclear weapons are stockpiled. There is another reason. Much of the world's productive forces are concentrated in Europe. Nearly 20% of the world's population live here, producing over 50% of the world industrial output. Europe accounts for approximately half of the world national income. Nearly half the world's scientists work in Europe.

These data are sufficient to claim that Europe holds a central role in the solution of the problems of disarmament, environmental protection, and in the struggle for a new world economic order. Europe bears an enormous responsibility to the rest of the world.

Today we are witnessing big changes. On the one hand, there is an opportunity to significantly ease international tensions due to the coming December 7 summit in Washington. Prospects for a nuclear-free Europe and reductions in conventional armaments are emerging. There exist, however, powerful forces who think otherwise. France and West Germany are taking steps towards concluding a mutual defence pact. The Western European Union is stepping up its activities. NATO's Nuclear Planning Group is in session these days to decide how to protect Europe with a new nuclear umbrella after the agreement to eliminate medium- and shorter-range missiles between Gorbachev and Reagan goes into effect. All this signifies that influential quarters in West European countries—allies of the United States—are giving more thought to armament than to disarmament. It is imperative that left-wing forces in Europe and the peace movement form a united front. It is necessary to state, once and for all, that as of December 7 the process of disarmament must become irreversible. This means that we are resolutely against armament in one field after disarmament in another.

If we fail to prevent this course of events, the military-industrial complex in Western Europe and the United States will be able to continue to play its treacherous games with ease. Public opinion must declare: there is only one way—mobilization of the masses.

It is also necessary to draw the United States into these efforts so that to make European disarmament a more stable process. The US presence in Europe is real. The US took part in the all-European Helsinki Conference.

The Soviet Union recognizes this reality and conducts negotiations with the United States accordingly. European communist parties and other left-wing forces must also maintain closer contacts with the US and with Americans, especially with those forces advocating peace rather than war. Due to the existence of the powerful military-industrial complex in the United States, it is relatively easy for anti-American sentiments in Europe, which are, in fact, already considerable, to increase. Anti-Americanism can easily get out of control and become no less dangerous than anti-Sovietism. Certain quarters in the United States promote anti-American sentiments with their own attitudes towards Europeans and Japanese. In the last few months the United States unleashed an unprecedented, hysterical campaign against our country and Japan, which were blamed for exporting high-tech products to the USSR. The social-democratic government of my country unfortunately saw fit to bow down before the United States and make NATO COCOM regulations even tougher. This is deplorable. The last thing we need now is COCOM regulations which closely regiment trade relations between countries with different social systems. We do not need the COCOM watchdog; in fact, it is high time to eliminate the entire system. Every country should be able to choose what and with whom it wants to trade. In the contemporary world, it is quite natural to exchange technology and to engage in scientific, technological and production cooperation. Cooperation across bloc borders, as well as cooperation with Third World countries, is very important for the disarmament process. Disarmament and cooperation are two sides of the same coin, influencing one another. Hence, it is perfectly natural to demand that restrictive COCOM regulations first be eased and then eliminated altogether.

Our country refused to join the EEC after a national referendum in 1972. We believe that the supranational essence of such an organization as the Common Market acts as a source of tension and internal crises. We do not believe in the usefulness of supranational organs. The idea of supranational organs, which adopt decisions for all to abide by, is in the middle of a profound crisis. The future belongs to new forms of international cooperation and corresponding agencies which would respect national sovereignty. Various countries have different productive forces and different potentials to develop them. Such differences are all too apparent in the Common Market. It is because of this that the drive for protectionism and the drive for free trade are constantly at odds there. Protectionism and the supranational essence of the Common Market are products of old thinking. Modern technological development forces us to look at the world in a different way. The exchange of knowledge and its dissemination are acquiring ever greater importance. The perspectives of all-European politics are quite different from the notions prevailing in the Common Market. We be-

lieve that Europe must proceed from reality, and the reality is that there are three organizations in today's Europe—CMEA, EFTA and EEC. We believe that we should not confine ourselves to cooperation which is similar to the cooperation between the superpowers. Yet, that is what cooperation is going to be like if it is to be developed exclusively between the CMEA and the EEC. It is much more important, in our belief, to develop genuine all-European cooperation in the spirit of the Helsinki Conference. Then both the CMEA and the EEC will not be able to ignore the fact that the EFTA is an important organization. Nor will they be able to afford to forget about the countries in this organization when developing CMEA-EEC cooperation. This is very important for those of us who live in Norway, Sweden, Finland, Austria, Switzerland and Iceland, for all EFTA members.

Comrade Gorbachev said that Communists were the first to sound the alarm when the fascist threat emerged. We have also been the first to sound the alarm as regards the threat posed by the arms race. Yet we must honestly admit that it was not us, but others, who rang the alarm over the ecological crisis. The Greens were the first here. Our duty is to determine our role in this struggle: to indicate possible solutions, advance concrete proposals, elaborate new thinking. This calls for going back to certain fundamental values and simultaneously searching for new ones.

The progress in science and technology offers brilliant perspectives. Yet we must not rush ahead, but should ask ourselves: Are we obliged to do certain things merely because they have become technically feasible? This question must be asked each time we prepare to make a step forward.

We are bold people. We look for new opportunities, but we must keep our desires in check. There are borders which must not be crossed in the consumption of natural riches, as well as in the experiments with life itself—the human body. I am talking about genetic engineering. Knowledge is power, but this power must be used in a responsible manner. We need an ecological ethic. After all, the issue here is our responsibility both to humanity and to the future of our planet. We are to blame when the fish in our seas die and the birds—in our skies.

The struggle against the barbarous treatment of nature and the plunder of its riches is a constituent part of our strategic struggle for socialism. It is also an important issue to be considered when forming strategic alliances with other social and political forces.

Red has always been the colour of revolution. Today, however, green must be added to it. By uniting forces in the "red-green alliance", we shall be able to solve major global problems.

In order to succeed, "green" policies must be blended with "red" ones, since both are struggling against the same powerful economic forces. Big monopolies and military concerns will have nothing to do with ecology.

They represent and support what we in the West call the "right wave". It is our belief that the time has come to challenge the right-wing forces with a "left wave".

Assemblies such as this Moscow forum will most definitely make an important contribution to the unification of all left-wing forces, to the organization of joint actions and common struggle. The class struggle in the modern world includes the fight for peace, for environmental protection at all levels—from the United Nations to the smallest village or enterprise—and against hunger.

Member of the National Executive Committee of the National Committee of the Communist Party of Australia

Brian AARONS

Comrade Gorbachev and our other Soviet hosts,
Comrades,

Let me join other participants in welcoming the fact of this meeting and even more so its broad representative nature and its spirit of open-minded dialogue aimed at raising understanding among different strands and tendencies of left and progressive forces. Our party welcomes the aim of seeking points of agreement on the pressing issues of our time, the better to take effective joint initiatives around them. We also welcome the aim of clarifying points of disagreement, the better to continue our refinement of theory and of political strategy and practice in a complex and rapidly changing world.

In the spirit of glasnost could I raise two criticisms or suggestions? Firstly, I think many of us feel a sense of frustration that we cannot pursue in more detail the many interesting points and proposals raised by other speakers. This is understandable given the large number of participants and the importance of us all hearing the points of view we all have. But I think that we should also discuss, before this meeting ends, how we can extend and deepen the dialogue opened up there.

Secondly, I believe we must all be collectively self-critical about the low participation of women in this gathering. Again, it may be understandable because each party or movement has sent only one or two representatives, but I believe we cannot be satisfied with the overall result which sees women make up just 3% of this meeting when they constitute 50% of the population and probably between 20% and 40% of most of our organisations. I think this deprives our meeting of important perspectives and points of view.

Comrades, I do not wish to engage in yet another repetition of points already made by other speakers. By the way, let me observe in passing that the common themes in the presentations, the common recognition of the urgent issues and pressing tasks we all face, augurs well for moving on from here to discuss and develop real, meaningful and practical initiatives around them. But let's not leave such initiatives to chance, let's seek ways by which we can jointly develop and implement them according to the real possibilities and circumstances we face, separately and collectively.

Let me simply add my party's commitment to the list, which many speakers have outlined, of burning issues which confront humanity and challenge communist, socialist, left and progressive forces to find appropriate policy responses and develop effective political action around. And those are:

* the threat of nuclear holocaust and the need for meaningful steps towards the complete elimination of nuclear weapons, as well as measures to eliminate chemical and biological weapons and to cut back conventional forces in particular theatres and regions;

* the North-South issues, unequal terms of trade, and the burden of debt of the developing nations;

* the glaring inequalities of wealth both within nations and between them;

* a world capitalist financial system which is out of the control of national economies and governments, but itself exerts enormous pressure and control on them;

* the threat, and in some cases actuality, of ecological disasters on regional, national and global scales. The present hole which has opened up in the earth's ozone layer above Antarctica due to the overuse of chlorofluorocarbons and is now spreading northwards, including over my own country, is but one obvious example.

* consistent and principled opposition to all forms of discrimination and oppression;

* the importance of a genuine commitment to democracy in all its senses, and to developing democratic strategies for social change and democratic methods of political struggle wherever possible;

* the need for a new world order, not just in economic relations but politically in the relations between nations, including respect for the independence and self-determination of nations, and above all in terms of establishing peaceful coexistence and a nuclear-free world;

* last but far from least, the continuing need for international solidarity between all forces struggling for peace, nuclear disarmament, democracy, social justice, national independence and socialism. This solidarity, material, moral and political, should be especially directed towards those suffering the harshest oppression, where the struggle is most acute, and where outside pressures are strongest.

While the struggle in countries like my own takes very different forms, we can never forget the stark realities facing those struggling in Central America, in Chile, in Southern Africa, in the Philippines, and in the Middle East. We should give them our practical solidarity to the extent of our possibilities, just as we all gave it to Vietnam in an earlier period.

Let me add to that list my warmly welcoming the attitude and approach to theory stated in Comrade Gorbachev's remarks yesterday. This is indeed the only truly scientific approach to theory, which recognises that theory must be creatively developed and changed, not just creatively applied (and certainly not rigidly applied), in accordance with changing realities and our expanding knowledge. Generally speaking, this was the

attitude and method of Marx and Lenin. It's worth remembering that Marx's favourite maxim was "Doubt everything".

In my own party, we have been discussing for some years the question of how our theory must be developed and modified in the light of new realities and our practical political experiences. In the late 1960s we began to analyse the importance of the scientific and technological revolution and the ways it was transforming the means of production, relations in the workplace, and social relations and social life generally. Some of these issues we raised at the 1969 Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties.

We also discussed in our party the significance of new democratic aspirations among sections of the working people, involving forms of direct participatory democracy in the workplace, in communities and in their organisations and associations, alongside the traditional commitments to a wide range of democratic rights and liberties which has been one of the notable features of the Australian working-class movement since its earliest days. Our conviction strengthened that democracy is fundamental to socialism, and for at least two major reasons:

* firstly, because democracy and mass involvement are central aims and values of socialism, which are also essential for developing a better society and for bringing out the best in every individual and to get the best from the various collectives, associations and communities to which every individual belongs;

* secondly, because socialism needs democracy in order to develop its full potential. We know that Marx identified the profit motive as the driving force of capitalism, a driving force which played a dynamic and positive role in a historical sense, when compared to the earlier feudal mode of social organisation. For its part, socialism needs democracy and popular participation as its driving force, without which it is most unlikely to fully develop and utilise its advantages as a social system.

For the Communist Party of Australia, socialist democracy ought to match every democratic right and civil liberty which advanced capitalist democracies offer, except of course the so-called "right" to exploit and profit from other people and to accumulate enormous wealth. And socialist democracy should extend and expand the people's rights beyond what any capitalist society can offer. This especially means what has been called **economic democracy**—the right to a say in the workplaces, enterprises and in social institutions, within the framework of democratically-determined economic and social goals and an agreed national plan to achieve them. Capitalism by its very nature cannot offer, and indeed must vigorously oppose, the extension of democracy in this fundamental way.

We don't believe, by the way, that this fundamental commitment to democracy should be simply a blueprint on paper to be brought out from its file when we get socialism. The defence and extension of democracy

should be a central part of our strategy for achieving socialism, and a continuing theme of our practical political work.

In the early 1970s our party took part in and was influenced by a variety of new social movements and political initiatives, notably those around environmental and ecological issues, and the movement for the liberation of women. In our new Programme of 1979, we identified the environmental crisis and the male domination of society as fundamental issues of our time which have to be integrated into Marxist and socialist thinking and practice, alongside the ongoing class and economic concerns of the socialist movement. In our view, this is a question affecting immediate political practice, our longer-term strategy for achieving socialism, and our vision of the future socialist society itself.

All this has implications for our theory which I would like to pursue, in the spirit of Comrade Gorbachev's remarks on theory, if I had more time. To take just one example: Marx was a "technological optimist" who envisaged a virtually unlimited growth of production and technology in the service of humanity. Certainly he did not imagine that within a century after his own death material production and its by-products would run up against the limits to growth of our planetary home, and would seriously threaten earth's life-support systems and our quality of life. Clearly, Marxism, and all our science and culture, have to modify their world views and approaches in the light of this fundamental new reality.

Member of the CC Political Bureau of the National Progressive Unionist Party of Egypt

Fuad MURSI

Dear comrades,

Allow me to express my profound satisfaction and sincere pride to be able to take part, together with all of you, in this meeting convened at a time when we are celebrating the October Revolution—the greatest revolution in the history of humanity which changed the destiny of the world. Such it was when it took place and such it remains to this day. Today, it is still an inspiration to ever new generations of revolutionary fighters who struggle for the elimination of exploitation of man by man, for national and social liberation throughout the world. Its ideals and bold aspirations highlight everything that is happening in the Soviet Union. In fact, it is gaining a new lease on life thanks to the fresh winds of new thinking. In our day and age, this thinking is not just an abstract idea—it is already being implemented. It is winning the minds of people not only in the Soviet Union, but in the entire world. The revolutionary changes carried out in the USSR in the course of perestroika are more than just a simple extension of the October Revolution, but a development and further elaboration of its fundamental ideas. This is a process of revolutionary renewal encompassing all of Soviet society. We see the main guarantee of the progressive movement of perestroika, its irreversibility and ultimate triumph in the development of socialist democracy. Naturally, this comprehensive revolutionary process serves to further consolidate the socialist system, contributes to the attractiveness of socialism and acts as a major factor favouring peace and security throughout the world.

Humanity is living through a difficult and dramatic period. The Soviet Union, regarding foreign policy as an extension of domestic policy and asserting the humane principles of socialism, believes that new thinking is needed when dealing with international problems. New thinking means to prevent nuclear war, to make peace not only possible, but inevitable, and to guarantee the survival of humanity. With the threat of an all-consuming nuclear inferno hanging over mankind, class antagonism between capitalism and socialism is acquiring the nature of a contradiction in which priority belongs to the general humanistic factor. Socialism continues to strive towards the liberation of humanity from the yoke of exploitation; in a similar way, it must strive to deliver humanity from the threat of destruction.

Dear comrades,

This new approach to the issue of war and peace, imbued with the spirit of lofty responsibility and enjoying the support of all peoples and all forces of peace on the planet, merits our highest praise.

We realize, as you do, that a nuclear catastrophe can be averted and

guarantees of mankind's survival can be created only if a comprehensive system of peace and international security is established on earth. This system would ensure demilitarization on the planet, instill international relations with the spirit of humanism, and promote the creation of a world without weapons. Such a system should function on the basis of the UN Charter, within the framework of UN organizations, both existing ones and those proposed for foundation.

Meanwhile, we realize that the task of curbing and overcoming militarism, which is inherent in capitalism, is attainable, for humanity has lived in peace for over forty years now, resisting capitalist attempts to plunge the planet into the carnage of a third world war. It is impossible to ignore the fact, however, that the transnational military-industrial complex, with American monopolies and Pentagon generals at the head, is trying to force its will and policy, the policy of war, upon the entire world; it will never stop trying to impede the process of nuclear disarmament, will always be militarist in essence, will continue escalating the arms race, will not stop interfering in the internal affairs of sovereign states, and will, of course, never abandon its policy of neocolonialism, economic plunder, technological, information and propaganda, and cultural imperialism.

In the more than one hundred regional conflicts and wars over the past four decades more than 20 million lives have been lost. So far as the fear of nuclear war hasn't seemed to stop imperialism from waging interventionist and counter-revolutionary wars, every nation has the right to defend the social system it chose and overthrow any regime that does not suit it. In a similar way, under conditions of peaceful coexistence between socialism and capitalism, nationalist and socialist revolutions may occur and national liberation wars may start. Therefore, it is sensible and principled to have different approaches to the positions of the warring sides, recognize the justice of people's struggle and support just revolutionary wars.

Since the prevention of global nuclear war creates objectively favourable conditions for the solution of problems of economic and democratic development in newly free states, the main contradiction in these countries still remains the conflict between the movement for national and social liberation, on the one hand, and world imperialism headed by the United States, on the other. The United States pursues a neoglobalist strategy aimed at drawing developing countries into the orbit of US aggressive strategic schemes and putting them under US domination, at destabilizing the situation in these countries and helping counter-revolutionaries seize political power. Furthermore, the US tries to keep these countries within the capitalist world economy by using such slogans as "the open-door policy" or "mutual aid". The basic contradictions between imperialism and the movements and regimes of national and social liberation are main-

tained and even aggravated due to the foreign debts of these countries and to imperialist attempts to monopolize advanced technology.

The decade that has passed since the end of the Arab-Israeli war in 1973 has been marked by an oil embargo successfully imposed by Arab nations on the United States, and by multiple oil-price hikes. At the same time, our Arab region repeatedly came under bitter imperialist attack, which caused enormous damage. World imperialism, headed by the United States, provoked a multitude of regional conflicts, confrontations and wars among Arab nations. The United States also fuelled these countries' religious, national, racial and confessional conflicts and discords; it provoked the civil war in Lebanon, which, alas, continues to this day, and used the Iran-Iraq war in the Persian Gulf area to escalate its military presence and intensify tensions there trying to make sure that this war continued for as long as possible. The United States lent moral and material support to Israeli occupation of Arab territories and the expansionist aspirations of Israel's ruling Zionist circles, even going so far as to intervene militarily in Lebanon and Libya. The United States has destabilized the situation in many Arab countries, has tried to eliminate their status as independent sovereign states, and has made attempts to push the more developed Arab countries onto the path of distorted and dependent capitalist development. The United States has encouraged these countries to allocate money for projects that were obviously destined to fail and for the senseless arms race, thus dooming them to multi-sided dependence on the West.

The situation in the Middle East is worsening because the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine have yet to be recognized. The blame here rests with the United States—it has encouraged Israel to reject the idea of holding an international conference on the Middle East, gives Israel, its strategic ally, free financial and military aid, and has even asked it to take part in its Star Wars programme. True to the role US imperialism has cast for it, Israel sometimes takes actions bordering on nuclear piracy and produces nuclear medium-range missiles capable of reaching Soviet territory.

How can the Arab peoples be delivered from the threat of war hanging over them? How can the constant danger of Israeli aggression be eliminated? This aggression comes from a country that has turned into a "mini-imperialist" power in the region, defying, since the day of its foundation, international legal norms endorsed by the UN, its Charter and resolutions adopted over the period from 1947 to the present moment.

Dear comrades,

Our Party—the National Progressive (Left) Party of Egypt—adheres to scientific socialism and forges ahead on our own Egyptian way towards a socialist society. At present our Party is trying to stop the country from making a step backwards from the gains of the July Revolution, to save the

country from dependence, parasitism and corruption. The Party is trying to put together a broad national democratic front whose solid core will be composed of all progressive forces—communists, Nasserists and socialists. It should be noted here that our Party combines in its activities tasks of national and social liberation with tasks of peace.

Neither peace nor liberation is likely to be given to the people of Egypt or any other Arab people on a silver platter. What is needed is a large-scale, mass struggle consolidating all the world's peace forces headed by the Soviet Union. This is all the more necessary since there are certain quarters in the Arab countries which continue to claim that a relaxation of tensions in the international arena will play into the hands of imperialists and Zionists in the Arab region.

We welcome the bold and responsible peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, and call on all forces of peace to support our demand that an authoritative international conference be convened under UN aegis with the equal participation of all interested parties, including the Palestine Liberation Organization and the permanent members of the UN Security Council. We demand that an international conference under UN aegis be convened in order to examine the question of proclaiming the Mediterranean a nuclear-free zone. We demand that an international conference be held in order to outlaw methods of state terrorism aimed at patriotic regimes, mass and national liberation movements, as well to guarantee the Middle East a place in the comprehensive system of universal peace and security. We support and call for promoting the process of establishing a new world economic order which would combine the interests of newly free countries in all-round economic development with the interests of universal peace.

Member of the Leadership of the Peruvian APRA Party

Nicanor MUJICA

Comrade Gorbachev,

I wish you peace and a long life.

Comrade delegates,

I address you on behalf of Peru's APRA Party, a party which after 55 years of struggle (including 21 years underground) won representation in the government, where it guards the interests of a large part of the masses. I convey warm greetings from Alan Garcia Perez, the President of our Party, to the General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is always welcome to visit Peru. Our President expresses his respect for Vladimir Lenin, the founder of the Soviet state, and for all the Soviet people.

We would like to discuss two serious problems at this important meeting. The first and most serious concerns the economic and financial situation in developing countries in general and in Peru in particular, that is, the foreign debt problem.

In many countries the foreign debt has become something like a fire-breathing volcano and the peoples of these countries, impoverished as they are, have no desire to be eaten up whole by the rich who want to become richer still. Banks suggest the following: pay up until you're dry, and then let us manage your finances. When we become rich enough, they say, we might help you become a little less poor. Today's imperialism, that former aggressor, monopolist and industrial overlord, is starting to learn the money-lending trade.

Peru rejects this alternative. Comrade Alan Garcia, our young President, a bold and shrewd leader with the national majority behind him, has openly defied international financial circles.

We paid what we ourselves chose—15 billion dollars in interest payments and the debt itself. The debt service fees that should have gone to financial capital were used to aid millions of peasants and communes in the Andes to buy tractors, seeds, fertilizers, to develop irrigation systems, to build schools and other projects.

We are aware that the forces in this battle are not equal. Yet there is one good omen. We have managed to sign barter agreements with several countries, and primarily with the USSR. Our people know and value the advantages of barter, and we hope that this practice will find other adherents.

Here at this meeting we ask all parties to express their solidarity with Peru. After all, we are engaged in hand-to-hand combat with the insatiable financial imperialists.

The other problem is historically important for our continent and has

already been brought up at this meeting. The problem concerns political unity in Latin America. Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, the founder of our Party, studied this problem thoroughly and always considered political unity the main precondition for our victory over imperialism. It is impossible to move forward if some countries oppose imperialism while others make concessions and drag behind.

Furthermore, we must be aware of the problems which will arise should a state emerge that is the size of a continent, has a population of 300 million and stretches across two hemispheres from the Pacific to the Atlantic, a state possessing enormous riches, experiencing a population explosion suffering privations and yet going through the process of revival thanks to growing trends of unity. All these problems should occupy the minds of other people as well, the people living in continent-states such as the United States of America, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and continental China.

How would the permanent members of the superpower club regard the arrival of a new member? Let the imagination of our comrades at this meeting supply the answer, which is shrouded in historical mystery.

As for us, patriots of Latin America, we shall struggle for this ideal, destined to provide a qualitative leap for the continent of hope.

Member of the Political Bureau, Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Austria

Hans KALT

On behalf of the Communist Party of Austria, I express gratitude for the invitation to this forum which is dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

We welcome the attempt to start a new open discussion among left-wing, progressive forces.

The struggle waged by our Party over a number of years involved two major spheres: problems of peace and problems of socio-economic development, including environmental protection, defence of democracy, the rights of women, and so on.

As regards the most important question, peace, I have nothing to add to what has already been said here.

I do believe, however, that our discussion didn't pay enough attention to the growing acute internal contradictions which are characteristic of developed capitalist countries. The capitalists there are trying to take away from the working people the social and democratic gains they have attained in the decades following the defeat of Hitler and the whole fascist alliance.

This concerns Austria as well. Just a few years ago, Austria, thanks to the advantages of neutrality and of having a large state-owned sector in the economy, held a special position: its economic growth was continuous and relatively rapid, it had a substantially smaller number of unemployed and prices rose at a slower rate than in almost all other capitalist countries, including even West Germany.

Although Austria was not the scene of a dramatic political turnabout as other capitalist states were, Austria does have a process of social revenge of conservative orientation. At issue here are the important steps taken by the coalition government with the participation of the Socialist Party and the Austrian People's Party to put nationalized enterprises back into private hands, the growing unemployment and the deteriorating social conditions, along with the attempts to draw Austria into the EEC even though a military bloc is apparently being created within EEC's framework.

The new concept of the structure of nationalized industry is the latest word in the privatization campaign. Drawing on foreign capital in the restructuring of industry for the purpose of forming smaller units will put industry under even greater pressure due to the competition from the EEC, especially from West Germany. Workers' collectives will be torn apart, and their potential for opposition will grow weaker.

The Communist Party of Austria rejects this course, which threatens

the economic future and sovereignty of our country. True to the spirit of neutrality and the provisions of the State Treaty, our Party calls for the consolidation of an independent economic policy, which would make the best of all the various possibilities. This will be possible, however, only if Austria retains its sovereign rights and does not come to be dominated by EEC monopolies.

The Communist Party of Austria also calls for the protection and expansion of nationalized industry and is against its privatization, against the sale of the state-owned economic sector in general, a sector which serves as an important foundation of the country's independent economic policy and as a precondition for retaining its national independence.

In connection with the coalition government's publication of the budget for the economy, a protest demonstration was held in Vienna on October 24 to draw attention to the deteriorating living conditions. Some 40,000 people took part—students, workers, including employees of enterprises scheduled for privatization, Communists, Socialists, members of the united Green Party and various non-partisan groups. The demonstration was the largest to be held in the last 30 years under domestic policy slogans.

The present situation presents every party which considers itself a part of Austria's workers' movement with new problems and objectives: determination of the role of trade unions, revision of the system of social partnership with all the ensuing consequences. These tasks face our Party and the Socialist Party of Austria, whose members in the government, together with cabinet officials from the Austrian People's Party, were forced to receive the deputation of demonstrators which included Socialists.

I would like to examine in detail one of the new questions which requires theoretical elaboration due to its international significance. In this connection I welcome Comrade Gorbachev's appeal for cooperation in the elaboration of theoretical questions of this type. I have in mind the concentration of **financial capital**, its functions and mechanisms. As a result of their influence, nationalized industry in Austria and in other countries was forced to pay financial capitalists a much larger sum of money in the form of interest payments for loaned capital than was reflected in balance losses and this has happened even in crisis years. As a whole, these enterprises were profitable in crisis years too—in any case for financial capital.

One of the effects of the offensive launched by financial capital in Austria is that every **fifth** schilling collected from the taxpayers goes to service state debts. Even the church in the Middle Ages was satisfied with the tithe, i.e. the tenth part!

It is claimed that this is an emergency measure. The Federal Chancellor, Social-Democrat Vranitzky, asserted that even if the cabinet consisted

entirely of Socialists, it would still have acted in the same way as the coalition had.

The mechanisms of action used by financial capital create, and on a global scale at that, lucrative opportunities—they make it possible for the US Administration to finance the arms race, which threatens humanity's very existence, largely with sums collected from growing debts. At the same time, these mechanisms have triggered the debt crisis in the developing world; they have put the United States in the position of the largest debtor, and have facilitated the unprecedented crisis on Wall Street. The pressing nature of the problem is emphasized by the fact that even some socialist countries are saddled with interest payments for credit loans received from international finance capitalists.

Seventy-five years ago representatives of the international working-class movement, and especially Lenin, made a thorough analysis of the financial capital of those days. A considerable contribution to that study was made by Rudolf Hilferding, a Social-Democrat from Austria. Is this not an example for the future?

We Austrian Communists are for dialogue. But we are not Utopians. After all, every party puts realistic policies first. We have no illusions about the policy of Austria's present cabinet, headed by the Socialist Chancellor. The overwhelming majority of Socialists derive no advantage from this policy; moreover, they are even its victims. The same is true of the United Green Party and, in part, of the Austrian People's Party.

In the end, dialogue is possible only when the partner is ready for it.

In conclusion I would like to make another remark. The fact that the CPSU is hosting this meeting testifies once again to the powerful impulse the Great October Socialist Revolution, which is 70 years old today, is giving and will give in the future to the international workers' movement.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica

Humberto VARGAS

Dear comrades and friends,

I take this opportunity to thank the CPSU for having invited the delegation of the People's Vanguard Party of Costa Rica to participate in the celebrations devoted to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, and also for enabling us to attend the meeting of representatives of political parties.

There is no doubt that if all of us present here take care of the seeds we have sown, we shall soon have a good harvest of victories. We shall win them in the struggle to solve the vital problems of our epoch, to extend the freedoms of man, and to achieve more significant detente. In coping with these great tasks various political, social and religious forces come closer together.

The peoples of the underdeveloped countries played and continue to play an important part in world affairs, especially in the struggle for peace and disarmament. It is generally acknowledged that the solution of some of the problems of these countries (including those where fierce battles for national liberation are raging) is inseparably linked—for political, social and economic reasons—with nuclear disarmament, with detente and with the provision of a security system for all nations.

In various collective documents the Communist and Workers' Parties of Latin America have expressed determination to fight for peace. A statement made for the press by representatives of parties of South American countries who attended the Lima Conference in December 1986 says:

"The basic task for us still is to step up the struggle for world peace, for the prevention of a nuclear war... In view of this, support was expressed for the numerous peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries." Obviously, it cannot be otherwise: today the fight for peace is a supreme manifestation of humanism. And since socialism is the most advanced social system, the Soviet Union is leading the struggle for nuclear disarmament, for the prevention of a nuclear catastrophe.

We reaffirm our support for the Soviet initiatives and believe that the first steps in the field of disarmament are a victory for all nations. Some people cast doubt on the dialectical connection between the struggle of nations for peace and their fight for national and social emancipation. It seems to us that any mechanical interpretation and any separation of these two concepts are always erroneous and can drown in a flood of subjectivist assessments all the manifestations of objective processes and tendencies arising in social development.

It is our belief that all real efforts to demolish dogmatic obstacles and

eliminate the lag of theory, about which Comrade Volodia Teitelboim has spoken here, will help make us ideologically stronger and to solve the urgent problems of our epoch. Among them we should point out the crisis processes in the advanced capitalist countries and the cruel exploitation of the developing nations which is being intensified daily.

Unquestionably, the stronger the wind of the new thinking is, the more flexible and effective will the struggle of the oppressed peoples be.

The imperialists have more than once demonstrated their ability to solve economic problems and step up the arms race at the cost of suffering, disease, backwardness and even death on the part of millions of people. An end must be put to this. A new type of economic relations must be established. The chains of foreign debts will be broken by the revolutionary actions of the popular masses. We already have graphic examples of this. Comrade Fidel Castro once cited as a model the new economic relations between Cuba and the Soviet Union.

Dear comrades, until recently the countries of Central America were contemptuously called "banana republics." Today the tide has turned. This has been conditioned by the prominent role played by the victory of the Cuban revolution and then by the people's Sandinista revolution with its specific features. In its endeavour to suppress the national liberation movement in Central America US imperialism spares no effort and often resorts to the most criminal and foulest means.

It is interfering in the internal affairs of the countries in the region. In its struggle against Nicaragua the United States supports, finances and guides the Somoza cutthroats. It plots against the government of Panama, occupies Honduran territory, and intervenes in the most unforgivable manner in the affairs of Guatemala and Costa Rica. And it is threatening the heroic fighters of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front in El Salvador.

In other words, US imperialism is waging what it calls a "limited war." In reality this war is costing the peoples of Central America enormous sacrifices and suffering. A complicated and menacing situation has developed. That is why the world's progressive forces express full solidarity with the efforts of the Contadora and its Support Group.

We pin no little hope on the document known as "Esquipulas-II," signed by the Presidents of five Central American countries.

Unfortunately, all these efforts would be in vain if we fail to stop the aggression against Nicaragua and to curb US interference in the domestic affairs of the countries in the region. Reagan has declared that he will ask Congress for 270 million dollars to finance the counter-revolution against Nicaragua. The United States is spending colossal sums of money on its fight against the heroic peoples of El Salvador, Guatemala and other countries.

It is necessary to eliminate the hotbeds of war which can spread to the whole of Central America, to put an end to the US interference there, and guarantee the right of the Central American nations to freedom and self-determination.

In our view, by their struggle for social justice, for liberation, for genuine democracy, for the establishment of new international economic relations, these nations are making a major contribution to the cause of world peace. And at this forum we cannot help calling for closer solidarity with Nicaragua, with the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador, with all the peoples of Central America.

Comrades and friends, the present exchange of opinion between representatives of various parties, for all their political and ideological differences, testifies to their identity of views on basic, vital issues, which serves as a good omen.

This identity of views on all vital issues makes it possible to continue the free exchange of opinion paying full respect for the rights of all parties concerned, as has been the case here. This would go far towards developing the peace movement, to force unfriendly states to respect the sovereignty and independence of the oppressed peoples, and serve to solve many other problems.

Once again I thank the CPSU and Comrade Gorbachev for everything they are doing for humanity. We wish them great success in the revolutionary transformations being carried out in the Soviet Union.

General Secretary, Democratic League—Movement for the Party of Labour, Senegal

Abdoulaye BATHILY

Comrade General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, who is presiding at our meeting,
Comrades representatives of the fraternal Communist and Workers' parties,
Comrades representatives of national liberation movements,
Comrades representatives of progressive parties and movements,
Dear comrades, friends,

We are attending this important meeting with great satisfaction, and we would like to express some views we believe to be significant.

The founder of scientific communism, Karl Marx, wrote: "Mankind always sets itself only those tasks which it can cope with, for, as we shall see on close examination, it always happens that the task itself crops up only when the material conditions for resolving it already exist, or at least when they are in the making."

In a way our momentous meeting is undoubtedly an expression of gratitude which all democratic, revolutionary and progressive forces feel for the Great October Socialist Revolution. But it also testifies to the great hopes cherished by people who believe in the peaceful future of our planet, in freedom and universal prosperity, and to the expectations evoked by the changes being carried out under the leadership of the great party of Lenin in the homeland of socialism.

Having paved the way for the victory of the proletariat and for the liberation of the oppressed classes and social strata of old Russia, the Great October Revolution was decisive for the subsequent victory over fascism, for the establishment of the world socialist system, and for the success of the international working-class and democratic movement.

For the first time in history the Great October Revolution combined the international working-class movement with the national liberation movements of the oppressed colonial peoples of Africa, Asia and America. This amalgamation of the forces of socialism, of the working-class and national liberation movements has led, over the last 70 years, to qualitative changes in the world economy, the world community, and in world geopolitics.

The Great October Revolution has lent an irreversible character to the world revolutionary process. We must acknowledge, however, that this process has a complex and contradictory character. Every epoch raises a whole series of global and specific problems whose solution requires creative analysis. Bolshevism, embodied in Lenin's brilliant works and in the decisive historical feats of the heroes who took the Winter Palace by storm, represented at the beginning of our century an adequate response to

the crisis of imperialism and to the negative tendencies brought about by that crisis inside the working-class movement, among which were opportunism and dogmatism.

Comrades, dear friends,

At the present stage of its development our world faces a number of vital issues, such as the irrational arms race and the danger of a nuclear catastrophe, the plunder of the peoples by the transnational corporations, the scourge of underdevelopment, the trampling of elementary human rights and the rights of whole nations, racism and the policy of genocide. The policy of imperialism and its allies is manifested in the criminal acts of aggression in Southern Africa, Namibia and Palestine, and in the undeclared wars against the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua and El Salvador, Kampuchea and Afghanistan. The bloody and senseless conflict between Iran and Iraq is likewise connected with imperialism's desire to weaken the peoples' front of struggle against its policy of social regress.

All these problems urgently need scientific analysis and actions by all revolutionary and democratic forces, primarily by the international proletariat, which has the historical initiative as regards the progressive transformation of the world.

Shall we, as before, respond to this challenge individually, or shall we bring our positions together and coordinate our words and deeds?

The very desire for effectiveness obliges us to think and act jointly, in accordance with our decision to draw together.

We have, in addition, a common heritage, common convictions and aspirations with sufficiently deep roots.

The task now is not to set up a decision-making centre in the international revolutionary movement, but to hold more frequent meetings and discussions in order to work out a new, broader and more uninhibited revolutionary vision of the world that draws on the wealth and diversity of viewpoints and on the experience accumulated.

That will be a fruitful continuation of the present meeting, which has been convened by the CPSU and whose success is evident.

Comrades, dear friends,

Allow me to dwell upon some specific problems of Africa.

The African chronicle abounds with tragedies caused mainly by imperialism's colonial exploitation, as a result of which the material and manpower resources of our countries were plundered. Over the three centuries of direct or indirect colonial domination, the most negative tendencies became entrenched in the majority of our countries. Neocolonialism has only aggravated this process.

The intervention of the transnational companies is intensifying the factors of backwardness. The constant decrease in export earnings makes

it impossible for us to pay off our debt of 170,000 million dollars, and it is going up all the time. The economic crisis is expanding from day to day.

Being incapable of breaking away from the vicious circle of debts, the neocolonialist sections of the bourgeoisie, which hold sway in Senegal among other countries, find no way out except to retreat in the face of recolonization, being effected by international finance capital, in particular through the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Mass dismissals of working people, the growing cost of living, falling wages, cuts in expenditure on social needs, public health and education, in short, drastic anti-social measures, poverty and disease—such is the permanent plight of the toiling masses. We see this as the result of bowing down to the dictates of international financial capital. Thus imperialism is shifting the burden of the crisis onto the shoulders of the peoples, of the working people, thereby ruining manpower, material, scientific and technological resources. All this frustrates the attempts to get out of the crisis made by those developing countries which follow the economic formulas of Reaganite neoliberalism preached by cut-throats of the "Chicago school."

Even the socialist-oriented countries of Africa have not managed to avoid the financial and economic, and in some cases even military pressure of imperialism, which is trying to force them to give up struggle for genuine national independence. The difficulties facing these countries create a major problem concerning the specific features of the transition to socialism in the present conditions of Africa. It involves numerous complex issues: the driving social forces of the revolutionary process at various stages, the need to form class-based unions, the principles and practice of planning, the instruments and methods of management, attitude towards foreign and national private capital, the role of the state in the economy and in society, cooperation with the socialist countries as a priority, etc.

The revolutionary parties of Africa cannot shun these vital issues, for otherwise they would be defenceless in the face of the painful processes confronting the continent. The enthusiasm of the masses and the will of the revolutionary leadership cannot be an effective alternative to the scientific approach to the complex problems of building a qualitatively better socio-economic system, about which our peoples are dreaming and which is the only thing that can ensure the survival of revolutionary power. From this point of view the experience of post-colonial Africa is highly instructive, and in particular the experience of the regimes which are the product of national-democratic movements and the national liberation struggle. In view of the diversity of situations and experience accumulated on the continent, it would be useful to hold periodical meetings with broad discussions and in-depth analysis of the specific problems of the revolutionary movement in Africa.

If the cause of socialism is to triumph in Africa, we must put to use the whole of our creative potential and all our energies. The seats of socialist revolution which have emerged in Angola, Ethiopia and Mozambique, and which can soon emerge in South Africa and Namibia, must not be allowed to disappear. We must bring about their vigorous development, as has been the case in Cuba in Latin America, and in Vietnam in Asia.

While relying primarily on our own strength, we expect even more effective and extensive support and solidarity from the world revolutionary community.

In summing up I want to point to the principal conclusion we draw from this friendly exchange of opinion: the cause of peace, social progress and democracy, of the struggle against apartheid and Zionism will receive fresh impetus if we manage to promote broader dialogue and mutual understanding among all revolutionary and progressive forces of the world.

We are confident that the open and creative approach of the CPSU along the lines of perestroika offers such an opportunity and will actively facilitate its realization.

We hope that the revolutionary movement of the 1980s, inspired by the example of the Bolsheviks in 1917 and relying on creative analysis and its resourceful actions, will be able to achieve unity and lay the foundations for the civilization of the third millennium, in which humanity will be rid of nuclear weapons, of the scourge of underdevelopment, of racism, exploitation and oppression.

Comrades,

Dear friends,

In the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which is the occasion for this historic gathering, we wish that the breath of Bolshevism may continue to be felt everywhere, in order that it may ensure the continuation of life on Earth and its qualitative improvement.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the solidarity of the working people and the nations of the world!

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Party of Independence and Labour of Senegal

Amath DANSOKO

Dear comrades,

The delegation of the Independence and Labour Party of Senegal shares the unanimous opinion of the participants in this meeting that such a meeting is necessary and timely.

This necessity is due to two reasons: to the exceptional significance of the anniversary of the greatest of revolutions, and to the most burning problems facing humanity today.

We fully agree with the assessments made by Comrade Gorbachev in his speech at the grand meeting. We also believe that in that speech he made an in-depth and far-sighted analysis of the cardinal problems caused by the major contradictions of our epoch, and examined the trends of Soviet home and foreign policies.

Comrade Gorbachev also ardently called on all forces of reason to eliminate the nuclear threat to the very existence of life on our planet.

Everything that is now taking place in your great country in connection with the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution irrefutably confirms the viability of the Bolshevik Revolution on the theoretical plane as well as in terms of the potential of historical initiative inherent in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The greatest service rendered by that Party is that in conditions of extreme strain and backwardness it ushered in a new era in human history.

It is also to the CPSU's credit that it ensured the triumph of the world's first worker-peasant state, the suppression of counter-revolution, the defeat of the foreign intervention, and the overcoming of international imperialism's economic blockade and hate campaign.

Apart from this, the Party and the Soviet people, at the cost of the lives of twenty million Soviet citizens, bore the brunt of the struggle of the world nations against fascism and played the decisive role in the destruction of the Nazi war machine.

Dear comrades,

These 70 years of historic development testify in all respects to the exceptional revolutionary fortitude of the Soviet people, who are led by Lenin's Party. Indeed, neither the relentless hostility of imperialism nor the tragedies which mark the great history of socialism in your country have ever shaken for a single moment the Soviet people's conviction in the correctness of the historical option of the Great October Revolution: the course towards socialism has remained immutable. This has afforded humanity historic chance.

The decisions of the 27th Congress of the CPSU and Comrade Gorbachev's constructive proposals, audacious in the Leninist style, with regard to the struggle for world peace as well as to Soviet home policy clearly show that the Soviet Union is playing the role of the driving force in the destinies of our planet.

For these reasons, on behalf of the Senegalese Communists and of the patriotic and democratic forces of Senegal, our Party reiterates, on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution, its full support for, and wishes for the success of, the revolutionary perestroika under way in your country, and for the programme of peace and equal security for all nations being implemented by the CPSU. It is our conviction that perestroika, which has embraced all spheres of the Soviet people's life and has already appeared on the international scene in the form of a new political thinking, will lend socialism a new quality in its historic competition with capitalism.

Dear comrades,

As Comrade Gorbachev has emphasized, it is time for all forward-looking forces who endeavour to save humanity, primarily for Communists, to make a correct assessment of the demands of our epoch.

With respect to this, one of the main problems of our time is the chaotic and dangerous situation created and sustained by capitalism in the Third World countries. The mechanisms of imperialist exploitation have led to the accumulation of truly explosive material fraught with serious consequences. The present crisis of capitalism only aggravates this situation.

It is perfectly clear, and Fidel Castro has proved this plainly and boldly, that the crippling and speculative debt, whose victims are millions of people, is not only incapable of being repaid (unless we suppose that some nations will agree to this collective suicide in defiance of the instinct of self-preservation), but will henceforth have a boomerang effect on the entire world economy.

We are convinced that the only way to solve this momentous problem is to take resolute steps to end the arms race, towards peace. Indeed, alongside the question of humanity's survival, in the solution of which people all over the world are equally interested in view of the nuclear peril, the nations who are deprived of the material and cultural benefits of the current scientific and technological revolution have another reason for yearning for world peace as a vital necessity. As a matter of fact, this will make it possible to rechannel the astronomical sums being swallowed up by the arms race into peaceful development.

With the exception of the death traders from the military-industrial complex, of a small section and of the military clique in developing countries, the reorientation of military expenditure towards peaceful purposes presents no real problems for the peoples in either the developed or the developing countries. In fact military spending is the only item whose reduction can help to resolve the economic and social difficulties facing the working people.

As far as the under-developed countries are concerned, the shortest way to overcome their backwardness is undoubtedly to strengthen peace. We lay special emphasis on this issue because any demands voiced from time to time in various circles of the Third World countries for people's living standards in these countries to be raised at the cost of lowering the prosperity level in the advanced countries could be seriously detrimental to

our vital joint struggle against imperialism. Bringing up such demands could even help international reaction to manoeuvre, to create a massive base for militarism, for whipping up the arms race and undermining the security of nations.

We would also like to raise the issue which constitutes the core of the present strategy of imperialism. Immediately after the American military defeat in Vietnam, the Western press announced that the Americans were devising a new military strategy to combat the national liberation movement. It was reported that this strategy was to turn against revolutionary power the methods of guerrilla warfare and of sustained armed pressure which the national liberation movement had been sucessfully using against imperialism after the Second World War. It doesn't matter that in some cases they speak about "low-intensity conflicts," in others—about "support for the freedom fighters;" in essence this strategy is widely used today from Kampuchea to Nicaragua, from Angola to Ethiopia, from Mozambique to Afghanistan and even Zimbabwe. In this way the energies of already destitute peoples are being exhausted in cruel wars. Unfortunately it must be admitted that imperialism has been able in a large measure to restrict condemnation of these undeclared wars and weaken international solidarity. Such armed pressure fulfils not only counter-revolutionary functions in the victim countries, but also—to an even greater extent—the functions of deterrence, containment of the massive move to the left caused in the under-developed countries by the contradictions of imperialist domination.

This is a manifestation of a very important aspect of imperialist policy in our epoch. The question of organizing a broad movement of solidarity against undeclared wars is, in our view, central to the resolution of the numerous regional conflicts kindled by the American imperialists and their allies.

Dear comrades,

There is another point that deserves our attention. It is beyond doubt that the social substance of the national liberation movement has been continuously deepening. This confirms one of the basic conclusions drawn by Lenin after the October Revolution with regard to the prospects of development of the national liberation movement, which, he said, was bound to cross the limits of the anti-imperialist struggle and turn against capitalism itself. The move to the left is an expression of the current changes. Today we already have a number of countries which aim to become more independent of imperialism and to orient themselves towards socialism. Among them are the nations which make it a point to avail themselves of the opportunities stemming from the present alignment of forces in the world, and also of the support of the socialist countries, above all the Soviet Union.

It has to be noted that all these countries have to overcome formidable obstacles. While the achievement of power can be ensured, it is often a problem to defend it successfully. First and foremost, the leaders of these countries face the need—arising from their strategic option and despite the difficulties caused by the fact that their countries remain part of the eco-

nomic system of capitalism—to convincingly prove to the masses that they are capable of solving their vital problems. And this is the foremost requisite for involving the people at large in the defence of the revolution. To defend a revolution it is necessary to have real gains worthy of being defended.

The experience of the last few years shows the following: in a number of countries imperialism and internal reaction possess enough resources to successfully use against the revolutionary government the fact that it pays obviously inadequate attention to political work at the grass roots level, to the solution of the most vital problems of the daily life of the masses, to the level of political experience and to the needs of the population; they also capitalize on the tendency of the revolutionary government to use predominantly bureaucratic methods in the development of the revolution—methods which fatally cut it off from the masses.

We believe that scientific analysis of this experience has become an absolute necessity. It could cover the following subjects:

— coups d'état and revolution;

— the correlation between reform and revolution in the strategy of under-developed countries for national independence and for breaking with capitalism;

— the forms of revolutionary action in backward countries with a multinational population;

— the class struggle and national unity in African countries;

— the problem of cohesion of the revolutionary leadership as a requisite for success.

These are some of the issues which, in our opinion, must be examined without delay in view of the importance of the experience, at times tragic, that has accumulated.

It is our firm belief that with regard to these issues too the new political thinking is capable of manifesting the full measure of its revolutionary energy.

General Secretary, Revolutionary Socialist Party of Peru

Alfredo FILUMENO

Dear comrades and friends,

I would like to take the opportunity at this useful exchange of opinion to tell you that as a Peruvian and, consequently, as a citizen of a poor and under-developed country, I feel not only the significance of the moment humanity is living through, but also the enormous and ever increasing distance between the vital problems facing various sections of the population. To put it briefly, I will say that the tragedy of the present time is that a huge segment of the human race is possessed by the foreboding of death in a nuclear catastrophe. The other part, unaware of this terrible danger, is driven to despair by the fear of starving to death tomorrow. The cruel irony is that hundreds of millions of people are fighting for their liberation while a fatal danger is hovering over them.

It is our lot to live through the present stage, which, though grim, is full of great opportunities. This is testified by our presence at this forum, where we must resume the dialogue between various ideologies and begin a common search for ways of achieving mutual understanding between all people, uphold the cause of liberation of all nations and support the persistent struggle for the preservation of world peace.

Having heard eloquent speeches reflecting various notions of how to accept the challenge of our time—to ensure the survival of humanity, I would like to state that I share these opinions and prefer to add no clarifications on this subject.

I would rather use the friendly atmosphere at this meeting to elucidate some points concerning the liberation of our peoples and give a short account of the views of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Peru. This Party considers itself to be independent and heterodox. Independent because it has assumed the responsibility to achieve and build Peruvian socialism. It hopes to achieve this by means of the political work of the revolutionaries and people of Peru. Using the practical and theoretical experience of the worldwide struggle for socialism, we, Peruvian Socialists, think that the theory of socialism, its changing model, platform and revolutionary organization must find a special expression for the Peruvian nation, proceeding from its history. Our Party is heterodox because it believes that every revolutionary process differs substantially from others, and that therefore there are no complete or infallible formulas. It takes into account the fact that every victorious revolution represents a trend of thought that differs from that of previous revolutions.

Our first consideration regards the definition of a national Left force. We are aware of the need for a Left force that would correspond to the na-

tional history of our people and labouring classes. That is, we are talking of a Left force which believes that the image of the Peruvian nation has been effaced by class domination and a foreign presence, which impose on us their interests, prevent us from establishing our sovereignty and hamper our independent development. Our national image has been erased by the capitalist system, which patronizes internal reaction and imperialism. This Left force must therefore utilize the historical experience of the popular struggle for liberation and take upon itself the task of emancipating the exploited classes and nations, and achieve socialism.

Our second consideration concerns our option for democracy. We can say that in countries like ours the struggle for democracy is regarded as a subversive activity. The point is that demands for freedom, equality, solidarity and joint responsibility are bound to be voiced owing to the unjust systems in the underdeveloped countries. The search for organizational forms beginning from below—whether it is a matter of self-defence, solidarity or the municipal economy—reflects the genuine and inherent democratism of the masses in the face of the government's authoritarianism and the bourgeoisie's undemocratic actions. Unlike the case in other countries, the ruling class in our country, the bourgeoisie, never resorted to even formal democracy. It is resisted by the people with their original forms of popular self-government. We are not saying that we should only recognize the realities, but that we should be consistent in fighting for our goals. If we want to democratize society, the struggle for democracy acquires a strategic and not merely a tactical character, and we must organize our political actions accordingly. We must realize that we are confronted with the necessity to define accurately such concepts as political pluralism, freedom of speech and economic self-management.

Our third consideration has to do with unity. Being convinced that no Messianism is capable of promoting the successful advance of the Peruvian revolution, we believe in a "mono-goal vanguard," in the unity of revolutionaries who reject sectarianism and hegemonism. The disunity of the revolutionary forces began to be overcome seven years ago with the foundation of the United Left. It is a front that unites Communists, Socialists, Progressivists, Christian Democrats and various Marxist groups. The United Left has become the country's second largest political force. It is also our conviction that the emergence of different left-wing parties among the people will not meet with any objection, for there is not the slightest hint of a rivalry that can develop into a fratricidal struggle. Rather, there is general recognition of the need for effective unity, which can lead to revolutionary rule by the people. Consequently, unity is the dictate of the times, it is not its purpose to gloss over differences and mobilize even sectarians who deny unity. Unity is rather a necessary condition for distin-

guishing the implementation of the historically expedient project from simple dilettantism.

The nation, democracy and unity are the great principles of our thinking. We give full backing to the struggle of all nations for democracy, national liberation and socialism; we believe that in the present situation the principal contribution that the Peruvian Socialists can make to the universal cause of socialism is to accomplish a revolution in Peru. This in no way means that we shun international affairs, since we understand that the national Left force and internationalism are interrelated concepts. Here we see the efforts of 16 Latin American parties to set up a Latin American Socialist Coordination, and we maintain fraternal relations with the international communist movement and the national liberation movement. In keeping with these purposes we demand democratization in Chile and Paraguay and help the Sandinista National Liberation Front and the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front, which is a revolutionary-democratic front. We express our support for the cause of the Palestine Liberation Organization because the plight of the Palestinian people is a gaping wound on the body of humanity. We feel it acutely as our own.

Adhering to this viewpoint, we also want to say a few words about the enormous significance that the Soviet Union's perestroika has for our organization, for it entails complete democratization in both depth and breadth. Perestroika combines democracy with socialism and embodies the perfection of socialist society.

Friends, comrades,

Permit me in conclusion to express, on behalf of the Revolutionary Socialist Party of Peru and on my own behalf, gratitude to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union for the invitation to participate in the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. That Revolution, under the brilliant leadership of Lenin, was destined to change the fate of millions of people.

Deputy General Secretary, Central Committee, Party of the Costa Rican People

Lenin CHACÓN

Hunger and illiteracy are today the lot of millions of people on our planet and mankind's existence is threatened by a thermonuclear war.

This being the case, the struggle for peace, a new economic order, freedom and justice is becoming an urgent task of the world democratic and revolutionary movement.

With the victory of the October Revolution seventy years ago the conditions were created for building the most just society—a socialist society. This gave impetus to the further development of democracy in Europe. The colonial system began to collapse. There emerged revolutionary Cuba, heroic Vietnam and Sandinista Nicaragua.

At a time when the Reagan Administration has launched a new offensive against progressive mankind, thereby bringing about a crisis situation worldwide, we are feeling the fresh and pure wind of perestroika, which demands forthrightness, openness and a new thinking. Important steps have been taken to create on Earth a life without nuclear weapons.

The mounting revolution in the USSR has won the sympathy of progressives, calls on us to step up our efforts, and imparts strength to the forces fighting for nuclear disarmament, peace and progress.

Moreover, the revolution calls on us to reassess the present situation and practice self-criticism. We need to revise organizational methods and make them conform to the spirit of the times, and to change our way of thinking and methods of struggle in order to be able to meet the political and organizational demands of the complex world of today.

There is no doubt that the tremendous changes taking place in the world are the consequence of the Great October Revolution. The seven decades of the onward march of socialism have proved its viability and its superiority over capitalism.

Not everything, however, was smooth and successful on the unbeaten and heroic path of building a socialist society and developing revolutionary democracy. This was said in the report delivered by Comrade Gorbachev.

There were errors, differences, dramatic and tragic moments that slowed down the development of the potential of socialism. As a result socialism was distorted in the minds of the world community. These mistakes and distortions made it easier for world reaction to wage political struggle against the ideas of socialism.

And since the socialist countries and the international communist movement, including our party, were not free from sectarianism and dogmatism in the theoretical assessment and practical application of Lenin's teachings about the Party, the revolution and the building of socialism,

since contradictions arising were not taken into account, exposed and critically analysed in good time, we were unable to scrutinize and rectify the mistakes. The image of socialism appeared in a distorted form, and this undermined faith in the Communist Parties in capitalist countries.

Our meeting shows that the situation will now be rectified. There is no doubt that the international communist movement will continue to determine the fate of peace and socialism on our planet.

There are better conditions today for cementing the unity of our movement—that of Communists and Social Democrats, of various religious trends, of progressive and democratic forces, a unity which takes into account the interests of the various political and social movements. As Mikhail Gorbachev rightly said at the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the diversity of our movement is not tantamount to disunity. In exactly the same way, unity has nothing in common with uniformity, hierarchy and the interference of some parties in the affairs of others, with the desire of a party for monopoly on the truth.

The criterion of unification of all progressive mankind is its common struggle for peace, justice, democracy and social progress.

That is why significant importance is attached to cooperation, to multilateral and bilateral meetings and particularly to the mobilization of the people at large to fight for these lofty ideals. Under these conditions each party must be responsible before its own people and for the future of the whole world.

The task of strengthening unity presupposes a critical assessment of what is taking place and rectification of the course taken. We are witnessing a new stage in the struggle—a stage of deep mutual contacts between parties, a new stage in the struggle for peace and progress.

Forward to a nuclear-free 21st century!

Chairman of the Communist Party of Luxemburg

René URBANY

Dear friends, dear comrades,

Allow me to convey to you greetings from the Luxemburg Communists. Our country is so small that every living thing in it can be destroyed by a single atomic missile. But we have such a great heart that there is place for all of you in it. And we gladly open our heart to you because you are fighters for peace, national and social liberation, and social progress. Together with you we feel strong.

We attach exceptional importance to this meeting, held within the framework of the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. Not only Communists but also Socialists and representatives of many other progressive movements and public organizations have gathered here for a frank exchange of opinion on vital issues of our time.

There can of course be some differences in our views on solving the problems facing us and we do not agree on some issues concerning the choice of ways of settling the existing differences. In principle, however, we are pursuing the same aims: to preserve and consolidate peace, ensure national independence to the peoples, and guarantee our peoples dignified conditions of life and a happy future. For the sake of this it is worth rising above differences in opinion and reaching accord on joint actions.

It is no mere coincidence that precisely the celebration of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution has made it possible to hold a broad democratic meeting of progressive forces, and that owing to this new and promising prospects are opening up for international cooperation. This corresponds to the spirit and logic of the revolutionary events of 1917. A fresh wind is blowing, and today, more forcefully than ever before, this truth is being confirmed: the October Revolution was not merely an episode in history; it laid the foundation for a historical process that has been constantly developing and has an ever deeper impact on the destinies of mankind.

The history of our people and of the working-class movement has taught the Luxemburg Communists never to lose sight of the connection between the national and the international. The Great October Revolution led to the foundation of the first worker-peasant state; it inspired the working class of our country too to political organization and to stand up for its rights. Under the impact of the Great October Revolution the revolutionary awareness of the masses grew as never before, and important social and democratic gains were achieved.

Ever since then there has not been a single major period of time during

which developing socialism did not exert a decisive influence on the course of world history. Can we ever forget that only thanks to the might of the first socialist state and to the heroic sacrifices of the Soviet people could Nazism be routed? Owing to the Soviet victory our people too won national freedom and the prerequisites were created for the working-class movement to score fresh successes in its struggle for social progress.

Even more evident today is the fact that socialism, which has become a reality already for one-third of the planet, is having a powerful influence on the destinies of mankind. It is the new peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and its socialist allies that have opened up opportunities to achieve disarmament and eliminate nuclear means of mass destruction, to save humanity from perishing and ensure peace between nations.

The 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution is not only a memorable day. Everyone can see that it is also the beginning of great new undertakings in the name of progress and the happiness of people. We have listened with great attention to the speech of Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev, which reflected the revolutionary perestroika taking place in the Soviet Union and the profoundly sincere peaceable policy of the Soviet Communists. This language of the heart and reason, we are sure, will be understood full well by people in all countries, for the policy of this great socialist country accords with their own interests and aspirations.

Undoubtedly, the "new political thinking" born in the land of the October Revolution, together with its sensational peace initiatives, have already brought about considerable positive changes in the international climate. This is testified by the Moscow meeting, which over these past days has united progressive and peace-loving people of various political views from all continents. Is this not a stimulus for all Communists to fight in their countries for the enhancement of the spirit of this meeting?

The more widespread the new political thinking, which reflects the demands of our time, becomes, the more real the opportunities for cooperation among broad social forces for the sake of preserving peace and solving the overriding problems of mankind, the more imperative becomes the need to ponder over cooperation among ourselves, the Communists. We think that the Communist and Workers' parties must without any more delay sit down and discuss the urgent problems of our time, thereby translating the power of their unity into a reality in the international arena.

Despite the difficulties to be overcome yet and the complex problems facing Communists in capitalist countries, they have every reason to be self-confident. If they can see the wood for the trees, if they regard the struggle in their countries as part of the universal drive for peace and progress, it must be clear to them that the future is for their movement, because the ideas of the Great October Revolution are invincible.

Member of the Provisional National Defence Council of Ghana

Kojo TSIKATA

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear comrades,

Permit me on behalf of the working people of Ghana to express our sincere appreciation for the invitation to participate in this meeting.

In our solidarity message to the CPSU and the people of the Soviet Union on the occasion of the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution we stated, among other things, that it is only within the framework of progressive mode of production that steady, sustained social progress and its attendant total emancipation can be achieved by most of the developing countries. Without this steady progress our efforts to achieve lasting global peace would remain a dream.

This notion, comrades, is not new. But we are persuaded by the current international situation to initiate a discussion of it at this important memorable forum where the progressive and democratic tendencies all over the world are represented. We share the view of the enlightened section of mankind that the need to leave no stone unturned in our quest for peace and international understanding can hardly be overemphasised. At the same time we believe that unless our strategies for achieving world peace oppose objectively the imperialist strategy for perpetuating underdevelopment in the developing countries, imperialism's only means of sustaining the imperialist status quo, our strategies will become frustrated.

Let us, for example, relate the structural pattern of the economy of a typical neo-colony to the need to maintain world peace. The conversion of the former colonies into sovereign states, as we are aware, has scarcely changed the colonial status of the economic and superstructural relations of those states.

Foreign capital dominated extractive industry, buttressed by either a communalist or feudal subsistence economic sector where about 70% of the neo-colony's population earn a wretched living, constitutes the bedrock of the neo-colonial economy. A weak light industry characterised by chronic low productivity and compradore-manipulated commercial activity are other features of the sub-structure of the neo-colony.

Protecting the neo-colonial economic relations are the organs of state controlled by pro-capitalist and feudal class forces and social groups. An alienated élite informed by bourgeois ideology and with pro-Western sympathies are often superstructural features which reflect and sustain the neo-colonial capitalist sub-base.

Comrades, committed efforts by progressive and democratic forces of the developing countries to change the neo-colonial status quo invites

hostile external responses in diverse ways, such as withdrawal of "aid", direct or indirect military intervention, sabotage, blackmail, etc. Untold hardships such as hunger, malnutrition, disease, constant destruction of homes and other property, murder, forced immigration, become the lot of the people of many developing countries.

The point stressed here, comrades, is that the former colonial powers have been dangerously unable to accept decolonization and the building of truly independent states as historically inevitable. They accordingly resort to different forms of violence and blackmail to halt the process. Peace for the wretched majority of the population of developing countries could therefore seem an abstract notion alienated from the realities of their daily life. Decolonization and the building of independent economies are essential features of the general crisis of capitalism inaugurated by the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution. Imperialism cannot bully the socialist bloc or end its existence through force or intimidation. Neither could it willingly remove its own internal contradictions for, though historically transient, it still sustains the capitalist imperialist status quo because of the entrenched neo-colonial situation in the world which, in our view, is one of the major factors of imperialism's reproduction.

Comrades, projected against this general situation in the developing countries and its international ramifications, the peace efforts of the enlightened international community seem to be viciously encircled. This is not to deny the fact that the struggle for peace and international understanding headed by the USSR and other socialist countries has not yielded any positive results of that it is a futile exercise and should be discontinued. We are just suggesting that unless the demands of the developing countries form vital aspects of our strategies for achieving international peace, global tensions will continue to escalate. That is why Comrade Gorbachev's declaration (on his assumption of office as the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU) that the Soviet Union would focus more attention on Third World problems is a move in the right direction.

Committed involvement of the masses of the developing countries in the struggle for global peace is a must. It, however, presupposes rapid decolonization and de-neocolonization of their socio-economic life, which, of course, implies further deepening of the general crisis of capitalism. The advocated rapid end to all forms of colonial and neo-colonial domination would not therefore be easy. At the same time any further delay may spell havoc for mankind.

We agree with Comrade Gorbachev that imperialism has no other alternative than to adapt itself to the objectives of the national liberation struggle. But there is a question as to the prospective adaptation which must be answered. Though it is objective historical and socio-economic conditions which will force imperialism to unwillingly adapt, there is scar-

cely any doubt that imperialism will become more and more repressive in the process. This process of adaptation and its attendant domestic socio-economic unrest in the imperialist countries will make imperialism so nervous and desperate that it will increase and intensify its repression and terror in the developing countries. And this kind of violence will certainly be met by revolutionary violence. How would the general formula for securing global peace relate to such a situation? This is our brief foot-note to the global peace offensive of all the peace-loving peoples in the world which we support.

Before I conclude, let me once again congratulate you Comrade Gorbachev and our Soviet friends on the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and wish all the participants good luck.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Iranian Organization of People's Fedayeen (Majority)

Faroh NEGAHDAR

Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev,
Dear comrades and friends,

At our meeting representatives of 178 political parties and movements of the five continents have come together for a free exchange of opinion on vital issues. Holding it became feasible owing to the bold and important initiative shown by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. The Iranian Organization of People's Fedayeen (Majority) is grateful to the CPSU and to Comrade Gorbachev for this initiative and for the tremendous work done.

This meeting is marked by a broad spectrum of participants and by a diversity of opinions expressed. Obviously this is the first time that representatives of such a wide range of political parties and organizations from different countries of the world have gathered round one table. They are united by a common cause—the cause of defending peace. They all endeavour to solve the vital problems confronting the working people of their countries. The fact that they differ in their approaches to many issues is no hindrance to the exchange of opinion. The participants in the meeting stand for the preservation of peace, for saving mankind from a nuclear catastrophe, for environmental protection, for the elimination of racial discrimination, for safeguarding human rights, and for the introduction of a new, just economic order. New and appreciable advance has been made towards achieving unity of views on these key issues. We believe that cooperation in solving these problems is both possible and necessary.

This meeting is imbued with the spirit of democratism. Everyone can say whatever he deems necessary and openly express his point of view without fear of losing face with anybody. The meeting is taking place in an atmosphere of quiet confidence and sincerity.

We the Fedayeen of the Iranian people welcome the present meeting, which enables us to acquire experience useful for revolutionary struggle. The Iranian people gained experience in the February Revolution of 1979. This experience can be of interest for developing countries facing the problem of rapid growth of a dependent capitalist economy with all its inherent negative traits, as well as for states where there are religious-caste movements of the clergy. Standing for peace, democracy, independence and advance towards socialism, we welcome and highly value this exchange of opinion.

Many at this meeting have pointed to the emergence of new factors in both the socialist and capitalist worlds. Today's world is changing. We agree with the fact that international efforts are needed for solving the

problems of social development. This, in our view, is facilitated by precisely such meetings and initiatives.

Dear comrades and friends,

The Iranian Organization of People's Fedayeen (Majority) ardently supports the Soviet Union's **perestroika**—a revolutionary process which is now under way in the country and which meets the demands of the times and helps overcome difficulties which sometimes occur in the process of building socialism. Acceleration of economic growth, the further extension of democracy, **glasnost** (openness), criticism and self-criticism—these are factors promoting the consolidation and perfection of socialism. Perhaps we are still not taking into account all aspects of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union. But the Soviet Union's resourceful and peaceable policy, which has compelled the United States to take a step towards reaching agreement on eliminating some classes of missiles, and even the atmosphere of democratism and renewal reigning at our meeting—these instil in us optimism and confidence in the triumph of **perestrioka**, which we regard as our own triumph. It will make socialism even more powerful, its economy more prosperous, and its prestige still higher.

A few words about the Iran-Iraq war, the Palestinian problem and the situation in Iran. The confrontation between the progressive and the reactionary forces is clearly defined. We stand for the speediest possible end to the Iran-Iraq war, for the cessation of the fratricidal war in Afghanistan and for national reconciliation as proposed by the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. This is the only way to defend the April Revolution.

As to the Palestinian problem, we support the Soviet proposal for convening an international conference on the Middle East. But American imperialists and their reactionary allies are resisting the establishment of peace in Iran and the Persian Gulf area, in Palestine and in the Arab region, in Afghanistan and around it. Their actions show that they do not want peace. We believe that the only way to safeguard peace in the hot spots of the planet is for all the belligerents—in the Iran-Iraq war, in Afghanistan, the confronting parties involved in the solution of the Palestinian problem—to sit down at the negotiating table and try to settle their differences by political means. A similar course has been proposed by the progressive forces for Central America, for South-East Asia and other regions. We support this course.

Our country, Iran, is living through a difficult period. The attention of all mankind is attracted to it. The crisis in the Persian Gulf has become extremely aggravated primarily due to the policy of Iran's ruling circles. They have continued the war for several years now against the will of the Iranian people. This policy gave the Pentagon a pretext to send warships to the Persian Gulf and to virtually occupy that region. We the Fedayeen of the Iranian people call on people everywhere in the world to put pressure by

peaceful means on the ruling regime in Iran in order to compel it to comply with Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council. We resolutely condemn the military presence of US imperialism in the Persian Gulf area. The armed forces of the non-coastal countries must be withdrawn from the Persian Gulf. Freedom of navigation in that area can be safeguarded, if necessary, by UN forces. The Soviet proposals on this issue are logical and reasonable.

Dear comrades and friends,

It is not only the burden of the war that is making the Iranian people suffer. Over the last few years thousands of political prisoners have been shot in Iranian prisons, and the life of thousands of other prisoners is in danger. In the summer and autumn of 1986 alone more than a thousand members of our organization were arrested and subjected to ruthless persecutions, including torture. Dozens of people were executed in the last few months. Such a cruel despotic regime is not to be found in any other country. The Iranian people call on you, the peace-loving and democratic forces of our planet, to condemn the blood-thirsty dictatorship of the clergy in our country. We the Fedayeen of the people ask you to come out in defence of the life of our arrested comrades and all political prisoners. Let your protests and actions prevent the shedding of the blood of those who defend peace and freedom. We the Fedayeen of the Iranian people cordially thank the CPSU and the Soviet people for their hospitality and for holding this successful meeting. We congratulate them once again on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. We wish you all success in the struggle for peace and progress, and for safeguarding the interests of the working people.

First Secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Party of Iran

Ali KHAVARI

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear comrades and friends,

First of all allow me, on behalf of the People's Party of Iran, the party of the Iranian working class and all working people, to congratulate the CPSU Central Committee, all Soviet Communists and the fraternal Soviet people on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution, which is being celebrated by all progressive mankind.

The historic victory of the October Revolution effectually separated the old world, the world of colonial oppression, of the exploitation of man by man, and of wars, from the new world, which brings to the peoples national liberation and peace.

The October Revolution and its offspring, the Soviet Union, have made the working-class movement and the mass of the working people, who create material and cultural values, the decisive factor that actually determines the historical progress of mankind. The economic domination of monopoly capital and colonialism was undermined; the way had been opened for the liberation of the oppressed peoples from colonial slavery.

It is difficult to imagine what kind of world we would have now if the October Revolution had not occurred.

The USSR is carrying out truly revolutionary transformations in conformity with the decisions of the April (1985) Plenary Meeting of the CPSU Central Committee and of the 27th Party Congress, which defined the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development with wide applications of scientific and technological achievements, accompanied by further democratization of all aspects of Soviet society's life. A new stage has been opened in the transforming activities initiated by the October Revolution under the leadership of the great Lenin. We warmly welcome these transformations and wish the fraternal peoples of the Soviet Union further success in implementing this programme. Undoubtedly, these reforms will not only set into motion the enormous potential of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, but also enhance the attractiveness of socialism, in which the nations of the world see humanity's salvation from wars, crises, destructive conflicts, poverty and backwardness.

The first decree of the Soviet government was the Decree on Peace. The Soviet peace programme, Comrade Gorbachev's statement of January 15, 1986, his speech at the 27th Party Congress, in which he called on the whole world to meet the 21st century without nuclear and chemical weapons—this too is the voice of socialism, but the voice that has been substantially strengthened and become powerful in all respects. Failure to heed this voice today would mean to bring civilization to the brink of destruction.

Over these past years mankind has been deeply alarmed by the militarist policy of the imperialist circles, especially those of the United States.

Their desire to achieve military superiority and establish domination over the world threatens humanity with annihilation.

In view of the qualitative leap in the development of armaments, war can no longer be regarded as a means of settling disputes. A nuclear war would lead to the destruction of the belligerents as well as of the very cause of the dispute, and even of countries and peoples who have nothing whatsoever to do with the conflict. That is why the cause of peace has become the cause of all nations and all human beings.

Our meeting, which is attended by representatives of communist, workers', socialist and social-democratic parties, and of national liberation movements, is taking place in the homeland of the Great October Revolution. It has demonstrated that the preservation of peace requires the efforts of all progressive mankind.

Our approach to this overriding problem of our time is based on the realization that a nuclear war would entail the end to life on our planet. The arms race, in both nuclear and non-nuclear weapons, is increasing this danger with every passing day, making the situation uncontrollable. Astronomical sums are spent on war preparations—money that could be used to improve the material and cultural welfare of the peoples. The arms race intensifies economic crises and increases poverty, starvation and the death rate in Third World countries. The tremendous energy of the world community must be channelled into improving the lives of people and into environmental protection, and not into the development of weapons to destroy humanity. Only a real invigoration of all the peace-loving forces is capable of putting an end to the insane activities of the warmongers, of those who derive profit from war preparations, of the military-industrial imperialist monopolies.

The people of Iran, like the rest of the world nations, wholeheartedly welcomed the victory of the October Revolution. They at once felt its direct impact on their life. At the beginning of the century Iran was a semi-colonial country. The October Revolution created the objective political prerequisites for preventing Britain from establishing complete colonial domination over our country. In the very first days of its existence Soviet Russia extended a hand of friendship and help to the long-suffering peoples of Iran and abrogated the tsarist-imposed enslaving agreements.

The October Revolution ushered in a new stage in the history of the liberation and democratic movement of the Iranian people. The world's first state of workers and peasants was the first country to establish relations with Iran on the basis of equality. The Iranian people felt the Soviet Union's firm support immediately after the Revolution. The Soviet Union's attitude towards the war between Iran and Iraq is clear-cut. Time and again it has reaffirmed that it stands for an early cessation of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict, for the settlement of the dispute between the two countries at the negotiating, table and not on the battlefield.

As for American imperialism, it not only played the main role in kindling this devastating war, which has taken about a million lives, but is making every effort to have it continued and to expand and maintain

on a permanent basis its military, economic and political presence in the region.

The deployment of more than 40 US warships and dozens of naval vessels of the USA's NATO allies in the Persian Gulf under the pretext of ensuring freedom of navigation has sharply aggravated the situation. By attacking Iranian ships and destroying Iranian oil-well rigs, and by threatening to strike again, the United States became directly involved in hostilities. As a result of the growing military presence of US imperialism in the Persian Gulf, the framework of the conflict has broadened, which creates a serious threat to the region and to the whole world. We call for an early withdrawal of the warships and troops of the United States and its NATO allies from the Persian Gulf, for an immediate end to the Iran-Iraq war and for compliance with Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council.

We also express our solidarity with the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and support its policy of national reconciliation, now being implemented in this country.

Dear comrades and friends,

The Iranian Communists, all progressive and democratic forces, and the working people in our country are being persecuted by the ruling medieval despots. The rulers of the Islamic Republic have for years held in jail tens of thousands of people devoted to the cause of freedom and social justice. Many patriots and freedom fighters were either executed or reported missing. The torture and execution of dissenters have become an ordinary affair. Women are completely rightless. National minorities are subjected to double repression—national and social. The rulers of the Islamic Republic have imposed a long-standing fratricidal war on the Kurdish people. Economic crisis, poverty, inflation, exorbitant prices, lack of elementary democratic rights and freedoms—these further aggravate the grim situation in our war-torn country.

Nearly five years ago, Iranian reactionaries, in collusion with imperialism, brutally repressed the People's Party of Iran. For five years now thousands of members of this party have been in the medieval dungeons of the regime. Many representatives of the progressive, democratic and patriotic forces are under arrest.

We sincerely thank the fraternal parties for their solidarity with our struggle to save the political prisoners, and hope that they will redouble their efforts to force the regime to stop putting pressure on the political prisoners and to release them immediately, and to end the bloody and devastating Iran-Iraq war.

Member of the Permanent Committee of the General People's Congress, of the Yemen Arab Republic

Muhammad Saeed AL-ATTAR

Comrade Gorbachev,
Friends,

Allow me, on behalf of the President of our country, Secretary-General of the General People's Congress, Colonel Ali Abdullah Saleh, and on behalf of the Yemeni people to convey to you and to the peoples of the friendly Soviet Union our best wishes and congratulations on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

I am happy that the participation of the General People's Congress of the Yemen Arab Republic in these celebrations reflects the development of relations with the CPSU. Today the traditional relations between our peoples and countries, initiated in 1928, are progressing markedly and developing continuously.

Friends,

With great attention we have heard Comrade Gorbachev's report, in which he elucidated the momentous and urgent problems facing the world, all humanity.

This informal meeting is of world significance. It insists on the consolidation of peaceful coexistence between countries and peoples and on the democratization of their relations. At the same time it evokes a sense of deep optimism with regard to international detente. This idea is set forth in our National Charter, in our Programme of Political Action and in the decisions adopted by the Third Convention of the General People's Congress. This prompts us to present before this important international forum the problems which seriously alarm the international community, and appeal to the conscience of all humanity. Among them is the problem of the Palestinian people. As a result of the aggressive colonialist policy of Israel they are being subjected to tyranny and oppression, and have become homeless exiles. They are waging a national-patriotic struggle, demanding the right to life, freedom, independence and self-determination.

We are grateful for and respect the stand of the friendly Soviet Union, which supports the struggle of the Arab nation against Zionism and imperialism, for the restoration of the legitimate right of the Palestinian people to return to their homeland, and to build an independent state of their own in their motherland under the leadership of their lawful representative—the Palestine Liberation Organization. We emphasize the need to convene an international conference to implement these just demands.

The Iran-Iraq war is in its eighth year; it is a dangerous step backwards and a serious threat to peace in the region and in the whole world. It is ne-

cessary to work for the full implementation of Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council.

In this connection we value highly the responsible stand of fraternal Iraq, which has responded to the mediation efforts undertaken on both regional and international levels, and has expressed agreement with the UN Security Council resolution.

Friends,

The world is faced with many other issues and problems connected with human rights, problems which threaten world peace because they are unresolved. There is the problem of the people of Namibia, who for more than forty years have been subjected to most brutal torture, murder and genocide by the racist regime of South Africa. There is also the problem of racial discrimination practised by the white minority regime of Pretoria against the country's indigenous population. All peace-loving forces must resolutely and energetically rebuff that regime.

We all yearn for the day when peace and security will reign over the whole planet.

We highly appreciate the Soviet Union's efforts to achieve nuclear disarmament by the end of this century, and also its endeavour to ban and destroy chemical weapons and effect a substantial cut in conventional arms. We hope it will be possible to rechannel the funds now spent on arms production into peaceful development throughout the world. A New International Economic Order will then become a reality; international cooperation programmes will have real substance, and we shall be able to do away with backwardness, poverty, hunger and disease on Earth.

Our people, together with all peace-loving nations, approve of the efforts that have made it possible for the USSR and the United States to reach agreement in principle on the elimination of medium- and shorter-range missiles.

We are optimistic and hope that new serious practical measures will be undertaken to eliminate all nuclear weapons, to end the arms race and to use the achievements of science for improving the welfare of humanity, for promoting its happiness, security and further advance.

Long live Yemeni-Soviet friendship!

May it always be a symbol of mutual understanding, of mutual respect and of peace.

Member of the Political Bureau
of the Central Committee of the
Palestinian Communist Party

Naim ASHHAB

Comrades, friends,

The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution, scored 70 years ago, marked a dramatic turn in the life of the peoples of the whole world, including the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. It gave a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement; later on the decisive contribution of the people of Lenin's motherland to the rout of fascism shook the foundations of the world colonial system and led to its downfall, to the liberation of the overwhelming majority of the peoples in the colonial and dependent countries, and to the establishment by them of their own independent states.

Many comrades and friends here have spoken about the fatal consequences of the policy of neocolonialism which manifested themselves later on in what are called the Third World countries; they rightly pointed out that the inability to find quick solutions to such worsening problems as the food crisis, the enormous foreign debt burden, unequal economic relations and desertification, is fraught with the danger of new crises and explosions that threaten the international situation as a whole. In addition to these problems, which are common to the developing countries, there is another which, if it remains unresolved, is fraught with no less disastrous consequences for world peace. It is the usurpation of the natural right of such peoples as the Palestinians and the Namibians to self-determination and national independence.

We, Palestinian Communists, are fully aware that the Palestinian problem, which constitutes the core of the Middle East crisis, can be solved only in the context of the overall international situation. The special significance of the international factor for the Palestinian problem became ever more conspicuous with the stepping up of Israel's role in the global strategy of American imperialism. And today, after the signing of an agreement on the strategic alliance between the United States and Israel, after Israel became a participant in the Star Wars programme, after numerous signs have confirmed that Israel possesses nuclear weapons, after it has tested and put into production medium-range missiles capable of carrying nuclear warheads—in the light of all this it stands to reason that the solution of the Palestinian problem should be most closely linked with the worldwide struggle to curb imperialism's aggressiveness, the struggle for world peace and détente.

And this means precisely that we are interested in furthering the cause of the struggle for peace and détente, proceeding from not only internationalist but also purely national considerations. In this connection allow

me, basing myself on our own experience, to deal briefly with the problem of the interconnection between détente and the peoples' struggle for national and social emancipation.

Gone are the days when some national liberation and anti-imperialist movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America used to believe that détente in relations between states of the two opposed social systems, above all between the USSR and the United States, was harmful to their struggle. The concrete experience of the 1970s has confirmed that international détente creates favourable conditions for the peoples to step up their struggle for national and social liberation, and makes it easier for them to find balanced solutions to their problems. Looking back at the events of those years in our region, we can see that the possibility of finding a just and comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict appeared in precisely an atmosphere of détente. It was then that the idea crystallized of convening an international conference on peace in the Middle East: in December 1973 the Geneva Conference was held under the co-chairmanship of the USSR and the United States. And although Washington and Tel Aviv managed to disrupt the work of the conference after its first session, the pressure of the USSR and world opinion, in the continuing atmosphere of détente, forced the US Administration to reaffirm, in the joint Gromyko-Vance Statement of October 1, 1977, the need to resume the work of the Geneva Conference and to admit openly for the first time that our Palestinian people have definite legitimate rights which must be carried into effect.

It can be said without exaggeration that the US Administration's latest denial of the Gromyko-Vance Statement and its irrepressible desire jointly with the Israeli authorities to strike separatist deals and take halfhearted decisions were some of the consequences of the White House's retreat from the policy of détente and of its return to confrontation, to the aggravation of the international situation.

In view of this and proceeding from our understanding of the interrelationship between international détente and the liberation struggle of the peoples, we hope that the forthcoming meeting of Comrade Gorbachev and President Reagan, and their signing of an agreement on eliminating medium- and shorter-range missiles will mark the beginning of the revivial of the policy of détente, and lead to a limitation of the arms race, lessen international tensions, and facilitate the achievement of just and balanced political solutions to explosive regional problems, including the Middle East problem.

Comrades and friends, forty years have passed since our people were exiled from their homeland. They have been deprived of their right to self-determination and national independence, which is recognized by the United Nations. Twenty years have passed since the day Israel occupied

our lands on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza Strip, and Syria's Golan Heights, and more than five years since the beginning of the Israeli occupation of South Lebanon. By stubbornly following a policy of aggression, occupation and expansionism, Israel's Zionist ruling circles are threatening peace in the region as well as in the whole world, and at the same time bringing countless disasters to their own people. This truth is being understood by more and more people in Israel itself.

From this rostrum we express profound gratitude to the fraternal Communist Party of Israel for its active internationalist solidarity with the struggle of our people against the Israeli occupation of our lands, for the right to self-determination and national independence.

It is now clear that peace in the Middle East cannot be ensured so long as the Israeli occupation continues and by means of separatist and partial deals like the Camp David agreements. It can be achieved only by the collective efforts of the parties concerned under the control of the United Nations, by efforts to reach a just and all-embracing settlement. All the nations of the world, except the United States and Israel, have today accepted the idea of calling a plenipotentiary international conference to discuss the Middle East crisis. It would be attended by all parties to the conflict, including the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of our people, and also by the Permanent Members of the UN Security Council. For its part, the Palestine Liberation Organization, by decision of its National Council, approves of all the Soviet initiatives on this issue and has declared its consent to the convocation of such a conference and its willingness to attend it on the basis of the respective resolutions of the UN General Assembly and Security Council.

Continuing in diverse forms its just struggle against the Israeli occupation, our Palestinian people, in spite of everything they have suffered and are suffering because of the policy of Israel's Zionist ruling circles, support the efforts to achieve a political solution to the Middle East problem. Such a solution will help to wipe out the hotbed of tension in the region and to promote world peace.

All that our people want is that this solution should be just and that it should guarantee them the right to self-determination and to the establishment of an independent state on the West Bank with the Arab sector of Jerusalem and the Gaza Strip included in it—alongside the existence of the State of Israel. This solution must also guarantee the Palestinian refugees the right to return to their homeland in conformity with UN resolutions, and safeguard the right to exist in security of states and peoples in the region.

Dear Comrades and friends, our small people, who are resisting Israeli-American aggression, must have your support and solidarity if they are to exercise their legitimate national rights. Expressing from this rostrum on

this glorious occasion—the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution—our gratitude to the Soviet Union and to all forces of liberation, progress and socialism the world over for backing the struggle of our people, we hope to see this year, which will be the International Year of Solidarity with the Palestinian People, even more solid solidarity, so that our people might be able to make a worthy contribution to the momentous process that has swept our planet, namely, the fight for a world without wars and violence, a world where men and women will be guaranteed the right to life, and every nation—the right to self-determination and to choose their path of development freely.

President of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon

Walid JOUMBLATT

Dear comrades,

We have gathered here in order to exchange opinions, find a common language and achieve genuine solidarity. And since we have already started such an exchange, I would like to make the following points.

First, under the phalangist regime (resembling an apartheid regime), which is patronized by Israel, the United States and other Western countries, Lebanon will never be able to regulate the crisis and achieve stability and concord.

Secondly, the best guarantee of success for Lebanon's national-patriotic forces in countering the new crusade unleashed against them is to be better armed and prepared for battle. The national-patriotic forces can be similarly guaranteed by forming a clear-cut military-political alliance between the Lebanese patriots, the Palestinians and Syria.

In this connection we demand that all honest and active forces should stop the war against the Palestinian camps and raise the siege around them. We believe that Palestinian guns must serve the cause of the Lebanese patriots, the Palestinians themselves and all Arabs.

Third, while agreeing to an international conference to settle the Middle East conflict, we insist that it should be attended by an independent Palestinian delegation headed by the Palestine Liberation Organization—the sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people. With regard to this we demand the implementation of all the relevant UN resolutions, including that of 1947 on the partition of Palestine.

Fourth, we shall not accept a new inflow of Jews into Palestinian lands wherever it comes from, for it is the main hindrance to a peaceful solution and serves the policy of creating Israeli settlements.

Fifth, Israel has become the first Middle East country to possess the nuclear weapons. We demand that the great powers should put an end to this new danger facing us. Otherwise the Arabs and the Muslims, to maintain a balance of forces, will be entitled to possess nuclear weapons too.

Sixth, every oppressed people and every humiliated nation have the right to take up arms in defence of their honour and existence. We reject all moralizing and demagogic lectures from the racist and colonialist West. For it is the West that in the recent past produced Hitler, created the apartheid regime, destroyed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, drowned Vietnam in blood and oppressed the Arab people in Algeria. It is by the hands of the West that the State of Israel was set up on Palestinian lands. It is the West that is keeping silent about Israel's crimes on the Western Bank of the Jordan, in the Gaza Strip, on the Golan Heights, and in Lebanon. It is the West

that has committed countless crimes in Latin America. And the West is incapable of solving the mystery of the murder of such a prominent political figure of our time as Olof Palme. That is why we demand the setting up of an international agency to draw a dividing line between terrorism and legitimate armed struggle, and to consolidate human rights in all parts of the world. In this connection we also vehemently condemn the campaign against Arab and Muslim fighters.

Seventh, Lebanese fighters are in Libya to defend the Libyan Revolution, which takes the side of the Lebanese patriots in their struggle against the phalangists, against Israel, and also in resisting French and American naval forces.

The Lebanese presence in Libya will never be directed against the people of Chad or any other African country, and we are prepared to explain our position to the Organization of African Unity.

Eighth, we support glasnost and perestroika. But while we cherish the authority of the Bolshevik Revolution we fear lest some doubtful elements—reactionaries and Zionists—should capitalize on this policy. In view of this we do not consider it advisable to denounce the epoch of Stalinism today.

We thank Comrade Gorbachev and, through him, the CPSU and the Soviet people, for their sincere support of the Arab patriots.

Chairman of the German Communist Party

Herbert MIES

Dear comrades,
Dear friends,

At this meeting we Communists are, as it were, exploring and developing virgin land that has new and increased dimensions. Here the common, the different and even the opposite merge into awareness that peace and disarmament are our common goal and task. And even if the only result of our meeting were the common outlook expressed here by Communists, Social Democrats and representatives of other progressive forces, it would have meant a lot. Speeches have been made about our global interest in peace, disarmament, development, environmental protection, and democratization. This produced a great impression on us. From the speeches we have derived much that serves as fresh impetus to our struggle.

I want to draw your attention to what concerns many millions of people in our country. This is the hope to be able to exercise the right to work—to interesting, creative, constructive and not destructive work. Together with peace, for simple people work forms the essential basis of life.

We want to have a common and peaceful European house. What does building a common apartment house in Europe mean? It means to fight for a house without nuclear weapons, a house of good-neighbour relations, of peaceful cooperation, healthy environment, and of solidarity with the developing countries. This means a great deal for such a house, for peaceful and neighbourly relations and solidarity between its dwellers are the chief thing. In the Europe of today there are states which have different social systems and belong to different military alliances. Moreover, capitalist Europe has some twenty million unemployed and whole cities and regions which are on the brink of crash; this threatens to destroy humaneness and human dignity.

When we go to these millions of people with the good idea of a common house, they ask: How are we to live in such a house? Will we have work or not?

Here we have many problems, but at least one of them is of vital significance to the working-class movement in capitalist Europe today and in the future. Over the last few years people have realized this truth: Peace is not everything, but without peace there is absolutely nothing. I would like to complement this truth with another one and link them up: Peace, work and a healthy environment are not everything either, but without them there is no human civilization.

The right to life in peaceful conditions, which should be guaranteed in the European house, should be complemented, in the interests of ordinary

people, by the realization of their hopes for jobs and their aspiration to work. I emphasize, the realization of their hopes for jobs and aspiration to work. Work and jobs—for the sake of and thanks to peace, for the sake of and thanks to the solution of the developing countries' problems, for the sake of and thanks to the solution of the problems of ecology.

This, it need hardly be said, is primarily the task of the working class, of the working-class movement, of the progressive forces in every country. The point is that it has become a general strategy of monopoly capital in all capitalist countries to destroy jobs. It is therefore necessary that the working-class movement in the capitalist countries and we, Communists, should supplement our national strategy in the struggle for jobs with a West European, all-European and global strategy, and with appropriate initiatives and actions.

When it comes to building an all-European house of peace, we, Communists of the Federal Republic of Germany, tie up the struggle for the right to peace with the struggle for the right to work. In this endeavour we regard as our indispensable ally the socialist countries with their initiatives for disarmament and for cuts in military spending, with their strategy for economic cooperation and its implementation. It is not only we who regard them as an ally in our struggle for the right to work, but also hundreds of thousands of workers who are obliged to the socialist countries for their jobs. We often hear talk about weaknesses in the economy of this or that socialist country. But it will be observed that these countries, for all their shortcomings and weaknesses, are already strong enough to guarantee jobs in our country to hundreds of thousands of workers, and this arrangement is for mutual benefit. I would like to thank them for this. Many different hopes and wishes have been expressed here. I too have quite a few hopes and wishes. I wish to see our country continuing to conduct peace marches and rallies with participants from other countries. I would also like to see the organization of powerful marches of the unemployed of all European capitalist countries to the headquarters of the transnational monopolies, and also marches of steel workers, miners and farmers of the EEC countries to Brussels. I wish we had enough energy and courage quickly to organize solidarity actions whenever it is necessary to do so. We ourselves can and must translate these hopes and wishes into reality.

Communists, Social Democrats and representatives of other progressive movements have sat down at the same table for two days. On returning home, let us think what is to be done so that what is possible here, in Moscow, ceases to be impossible in our countries.

General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party

Ali Salim AL-BAYD

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Dear comrades and friends,

Allow me to join those comrades who have spoken about the historic significance of this meeting. It represents a qualitative stride in the development of open dialogue between the various peace-loving socio-political forces of today—a dialogue designed to entrench in international relations the foundations of a new political thinking for the benefit of all humanity.

In this connection I want to declare the support of the delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party for Comrade Gorbachev's conclusion about this meeting—a conclusion of both theoretical and practical value. The meeting accurately reflects the essence of the deep-going changes taking place in the present-day world and clearly points to the importance of the new political thinking in the prevailing conditions. Humanity is today faced with a choice of two courses—there is no third one: the course towards peace and the defence of human civilization, or the course towards war and universal catastrophe.

Present in this hall are many who bear the historic responsibility for making the right choice. We think that despite the diversity of our ideological convictions and party affiliations, not a single one of us would choose the course of war as our common course.

It is necessary to say that there is a serious danger threatening the life of all humanity as a consequence of whipping up the arms race, of the build-up of the nuclear arsenal, and of the adventurist inclinations towards militarizing outer space. In the face of this danger all peace-loving forces, organizations and parties must unite. I shall not be exaggerating if I say that such cohesion will compel the more reactionary and aggressive circles in the United States to accept the policy of peaceful coexistence among states with different political systems. We all need to search for what unites us in the struggle to build a new world—one free of wars, injustice and grief.

In a way this meeting and the method of conducting it represent a peace offensive, which is being continued by Lenin's Party and which reflects faith in consistent historical development towards socialism, in the latter's ability to conduct peaceful competition in the interests of humanity.

This meeting is rightly believed to be a reflection of perestroika, the restructuring drive under way in Soviet society. We feel that its spirit and its realization in practice increase the impact of the Great October Socialist Revolution on today's world.

Dear comrades,

The Soviet Union is relentlessly continuing the peace mission of the Great October Revolution. It has put before the world's forces of goodwill an all-embracing Peace Programme aimed at ensuring security and stability, and at averting a nuclear catastrophe fraught with the extinction of humanity.

Democratic Yemen, together with countries of the socialist community and all peace-loving forces, gives full backing to the Soviet programme. This all-embracing Peace Programme contains a set of realistic proposals that take into account the vital interests of all countries and peoples, big and small, irrespective of their economic weight and military might. The adoption of these proposals would make it possible to consolidate international detente and mutual confidence between states with different social systems, and to streamline relations and contacts on a government and political level between nations in order to ensure world peace, to use all the potentialities of peace for solving the vital problems of mankind, to stop the arms race, promote nuclear disarmament, resolve acute economic problems, and to make scientific and technological achievements serve man and improve his welfare.

Dear comrades,

We must not place all the responsibility for preserving world peace on the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community alone. Great responsibility also rests with the national-patriotic regimes of Arab countries, progressive national, patriotic and nationalist political parties, organizations and forces. They need to make their own tangible contribution to the common cause—to extinguish the flashpoints of tension and preserve world peace, bearing in mind that the Middle East region is of exceptional importance to the cause of peace and to international relations today.

We have a situation in which the Middle East is a hotbed of tension threatening world peace. The Zionists continue illegally to occupy Arab territories, flagrantly violate human rights, and pursue a policy of aggression and annexation towards the Arab peoples. We are speaking of the importance of carrying on the struggle to achieve a just settlement of the Middle East problem—a settlement that would guarantee the withdrawal of Israeli troops from occupied Arab territories, and ensure respect for the legitimate rights of the Palestinian people, including their right to return to their motherland, to self-determination and to set up an independent national state of their own. Our country once again declares its support for the call to convene an International Conference on the Middle East with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization as the sole legitimate representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

Our country confirms the need to facilitate Lebanon's withdrawal from

the state of confessional civil war kindled by the imperialist and Zionist forces in order to dismember the country, deprive it of its intrinsic Arab character and of its independence, and endanger it and other Arab nations by acts of aggression. It is necessary to improve the atmosphere in Arab countries by pooling the efforts of all national-patriotic regimes, of progressive national and nationalist political parties and movements; the Arab nations must step up their struggle against imperialism and Zionism, for peace and social progress.

With great anxiety our country is watching the continuing Iraq-Iran war, the build-up of the imperialist military presence in the Persian Gulf area, and the mounting tension owing to a possible escalation of the war, which intensifies the threat to stability in the region and to world peace.

In view of this threat, Democratic Yemen damands an immediate end to the war, the implementation of Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council, and the peaceful solution of all problems related to it. We also demand the withdrawal of all foreign fleets from Gulf waters. It is necessary to heighten vigilance in the face of attempts of the imperialists to draw the region's nations into a "limited war" and maintain constant tension there so as to justify their political and military presence, thereby paving the way for direct intervention in the internal affairs of the states in the region.

The danger has been mounting over these past days due to the increasing presence and activeness of the naval fleets of the US and other Western imperialists in the Horn of Africa and Red Sea areas and in the region as a whole. This makes the task of fighting for peace more urgent, since the security of the Arab states can be guaranteed only by turning the region into a zone of security and peace.

We voice support for the Soviet peace proposals to free the Red Sea and Persian Gulf areas from foreign military bases and fleets. This would help towards eliminating the hotbeds of tension and instability, and to rechannel the funds now spent on arms purchases into development, into improving the living standards of the peoples in the region.

Comrades,

We once again convey our greetings to you at this democratic meeting, which reflects the joy of all forces of socialism, democracy and peace on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. It is entering its eighth decade with astonishing brilliance, with an ever increasing might and impact as a living embodiment of the trend of our epoch.

Comrades,

First of all I would like to thank the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and its General Secretary, Comrade Gorbachev, for inviting us to participate in the festivities dedicated to the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution and in this historic forum.

Seventy years have passed since the Great October Socialist Revolution was accomplished by the Russian people under the leadership of the Bolshevik Party headed by the great Lenin. For the first time in history the working class and other working people put an end to the domination of the exploiter classes and began to build a new, socialist society—a society without oppression and exploitation, one living by the principles of freedom, peace and planned economic management. On the rubble of tsarist Russia—this "jail of nations"—the Land of the Soviets was built on the basis of the voluntary unity of free peoples.

In the new favourable conditions which emerged as a result of the October Revolution, many countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America rose up against imperialism. The national liberation movements, which won victories owing to the material and moral support of the Soviet Union, destroyed the world system of colonialism.

Thus the Great October Revolution ushered in an entirely new epoch in the life of humanity.

Over the past 70 years Soviet society has attained undeniable successes in economic, political and cultural life. During these 70 years, despite all hindrances caused by imperialism, and despite the barbarity and ruin brought about by fascism, the labour of emancipated man has created a new society that is advanced and powerful in all areas—industry, science, culture, and human relations.

On behalf of the Left Unity of Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan, we cordially congratulate the Soviet people and their vanguard, the CPSU, on these achievements.

This festival is also the festival of the workers of all countries and of all progressives who stand for a free and peaceful future without exploitation.

The Soviet Union is waging an effective and resolute struggle to consolidate world peace. Apart from this, the country is engaging in the active renovation of socialism on its own foundation for the purpose of the all-round development of the economy, culture and socialist democracy. That

the Soviet people is bound to succeed in this endeavour is beyond question.

Comrades,

The parties forming Left Unity are aware of the tremendous significance of the problem of peace, and are therefore waging a struggle for peace.

Founded in 1984, Left Unity includes six parties: the Vanguard Workers' Party of Kurdistan, the Workers' Party of Turkey, the Communist Party of Turkey, the Communist Labour Party of Turkey, the Socialist Party of Turkish Kurdistan, and the Socialist Workers' Party of Turkey.

It is the conviction of Left Unity that the true liberation of the peoples of Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan will be brought about by socialism, which is our ultimate goal. Meanwhile, our urgent tasks are to get rid of the dictatorship, establish democracy and end the national oppression of the Kurdish people.

There is no need to speak at length about the problem of peace, which affects the future of humanity. To preserve the civilization created over the centuries and to be sure of the future, man must put an end to the arms race and ensure complete disarmament stage by stage.

No person and no nation, however serious the other problems confronting them, can say: "This problem troubles me least." On the other hand, we must connect the effort to solve this overriding problem of our time with such worldwide problems as starvation, national and class oppression, racism, etc.

The US imperialists and other more reactionary and racist circles are giving full backing to the counter-revolutionaries for the purpose of overthrowing the progressive governments of Nicaragua, Angola and Afghanistan. They are also the chief accomplices of Zionism, which has driven the Palestinian people away from their motherland, and of the white minority racist regime, which is oppressing the people of South Africa. In these countries, as in Kurdistan, the peoples have for many years been living in conditions of war. Children are born and grow up who have never known other conditions. Sometimes they become targets of chemical weapons.

For this reason the struggle for peace must also include solidarity with the life-and-death struggle being waged by these peoples against starvation, national oppression, and imperialism's policy of aggression. We feel a need for a new thinking in international affairs which must also involve just solutions to these problems.

Local problems which are urgent and vital to the peoples concerned are directly linked with the problem of safeguarding peace. Thus, a lasting peace cannot be established in the Middle East without a just solution to

the Palestinian problem and to the Kurdish national problem, and unless the war in the Persian Gulf is stopped and other problems resolved.

Turkey and Turkish Kurdistan are neighbours of the Soviet Union. They are situated in the region of tension that is the Middle East. That is why to our peoples the problem of peace is particularly concrete and pressing. There are numerous US and NATO military bases on our territory. We know that the Soviet Union and other socialist countries really want peace and harbour no aggressive intentions. We do not want our territory to be used for aggression against the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, and against neighbouring peoples. We support the noble struggle for world peace being waged by the USSR and other peace-loving forces around the world, and consider ourselves part of these forces.

While our people are suffering from starvation and unemployment, a third of Turkey's national budget goes on military expenditure. Among the NATO countries Turkey has the second largest army after the United States. So curbing the arms race would mean for our people more bread, more work, more doctors, and more educational opportunities.

The struggle of the Turkish and Kurdish peoples against the dictatorship, which operates under the control of US imperialism, is a concrete contribution to the cause of peace in the region and the rest of the world.

We congratulate the Soviet people, who are living through a new stage of development marked by their perestroika and their policy of glasnost, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, and also the working class of the whole world, progressive mankind, all champions of peace and democracy, on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Long live the struggle for peace!

Long live socialism!

Member of the National Plenum of the Broad Front of Uruguay

Mariano ARANA

We have come from a distant and small country, Uruguay, situated in the south of the Latin American continent. For 12 years our people were oppressed by a military dictatorship which tried to destroy all progressive political and public organizations.

For defending democracy and the people's interests thousands of my countrymen were jailed and tortured. Many were shot or are missing. The country's political forces and public movements, by organized and coordinated actions, succeeded in isolating the dictatorship and defeating it.

A large number of Uruguayans who had been compelled to emigrate from the country constantly felt the solidarity of the peoples. At this meeting we would like once again to thank the representatives of parties and organizations present here for the support they gave my compatriots, our people in their struggle against the dictatorship. Their support and solidarity oblige us in turn to help the peoples fighting for democracy, justice and freedom.

After a decade of rule by the militarists, who were encouraged by the so-called "doctrine of national security" and who were associated with the leading centres of finance capital, different countries in Latin America began to see a process of democratization. Yet some of these countries, after making considerable headway towards exercising political rights and liberties, are as formerly tied down to anti-popular, extremely unjust economic models.

It is our deep conviction that democracy and social justice are inseparable and complement each other, and that the defence of peace should also be combined with solidarity with the Third World nations suffering from the imperialist yoke.

Consistently adhering to these principles, we express militant and firm support for the Contadora Group and for the Guatemala peace accord on regulating the situation in Central America and on revolutionary Nicaragua, which is fighting against heavy odds to counter the Reagan Administration and its hegemonic plans in Central America, Cuba and its people. After returning to democratic rule, the Government of Uruguay, with the support of all political parties, restored diplomatic relations with Cuba, thereby piercing in one more place the blockade which the United States tried and is still trying to enforce against that country.

We back the struggle for the freedom and independence of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The struggle of the people of Chile against the Pinochet dictatorship and of the people of Paraguay against the Stroessner dictatorship is our struggle. In brief, we support all initia-

tives advanced by the peoples themselves and by the genuinely representative governments of Latin American countries for setting up a New International Economic Order.

This course goes a long way towards developing political consciousness and elaborating joint proposals on how to get rid of the foreign debt noose. We must shift from the present situation, when the peoples are working in order to repay the foreign debt, to a new one where the debt would serve the peoples and the cause of their liberation.

We applaud the multilateral nature and the reassuring and very special character of this meeting.

This is consonant with our Broad Front—a pluralistic, hope-inspiring and also very special organization.

The Broad Front's delegation is represented at this meeting by parliamentarians and leaders of the Party for a People's Government, the Christian Democratic Party and the Popular Movement for a Broad Front. Together with the Communist and Socialist Parties and other organizations, we founded the Broad Front of Uruguay in 1971.

We are a pluralistic force that represents organizations and leaders of different political, philosophical and historical trends. After analysing the specific features of Uruguayan reality we have worked out a joint programme, the guidelines for action and a general strategy. The Broad Front was compelled to operate underground for 12 out of the 16 years of its existence. Thousands of members of the Broad Front were thrown into prison, including its President, General Líber Seregni Mosquerê. The dictatorship banned the Front and persecuted its members; it did all it could to destroy us. The result was just the opposite: after the restoration of democracy in the country the Broad Front re-emerged even stronger. Today it enshrines great hopes and is paving the way for the changes needed by the Uruguayan people.

Dear friends,

We have come to the Soviet Union and to this meeting with fraternal feelings and constructive aspirations in order with everybody else to celebrate the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Those October days "shook the world" and in a large measure helped to change it. Today, as 70 years ago at the dawn of the revolution, the nations are watching closely what is happening in the Soviet Union.

The dynamic, flexible and positive foreign policy of peace and a home policy designed to effect a dramatic restructuring in all fields, to deepen democracy and encourage the conscientious participation of all citizens of the country in perestroika—this evokes a lively interest around the world.

We would like to indicate some points in that foreign policy with which we fully agree:

— the role of the United Nations as a forum where with all responsibility we must analyse major problems and search for solutions to them;

— efforts to achieve a reduction of nuclear weapons and consolidate world peace;

— recognition of the sovereign right of nations to freely choose ways and forms of their development;

— development of the concept of economic security as a means of defending the right of nations to happiness, to material and cultural well-being.

We have made a step forward at our meeting. We have pondered over things and learned to understand one another better, we have heard and compared various ideas, which for the most part reflected a desire for a common outlook, while some expressed a wish to differ.

We regard this meeting as a challenge to our future. We must find common ways of defending world peace for the sake of humanity's survival, for the sake of the liberation of the peoples, for the sake of respect for the individual.

To put it in a nutshell, we see numerous momentous situations where joint actions are not only feasible but also imperative if the interests of the people at large are to be realized.

Dear friends,

Our delegation was to have been headed by the President of the Broad Front, General Líber Seregni Mosquerê. He wanted to come to this meeting but was unable to do so because of urgent matters. On his behalf, on behalf of our delegation and of the whole Broad Front, I convey warm fraternal greetings to you.

Vice-Chairman of the National Resistance Movement of Uganda

Moses KIGONGO

Mr. Chairman and dear comrades,

It is with great privilege and honour that I convey to you, to the members of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and to the Council of Ministers of the USSR the warmest and most fraternal greetings from our leader and the Chairman of the National Resistance Movement, Mr. Yoweri Kaguta Museveni.

I also convey to you, Mr. Chairman, and to all the members gathered here in this august hall greetings of brotherhood and solidarity from the members of the Executive Committee of the NRM, from the members of the NRC and from all the members and supporters of the NRM. They greet you all in the spirit of true brotherhood, fraternity and the solidarity of mankind.

Mr. Chairman, on behalf of the NRM, and particularly on behalf of the Chairman of our Movement, I wish to express our gratitude to the CPSU Central Committee, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and to the Council of Ministers of the USSR for the invitation they extended to the NRM to come and participate in the celebrations marking the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. I wish, further, on behalf of the delegation of the NRM which I have the honour and privilege to lead to this great and significant occasion, to express our warm appreciation for the manner in which we have been welcomed in this great country and for the warm and cordial hospitality which has been accorded to us.

Mr. Chairman, permit me at this juncture to convey to you, to the members of the Central Committee of the CPSU, to the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, to the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, and to the entire people of the great USSR the most cordial and most sincere congratulations from the Chairman and all the Members of the National Resistance Movement on this great and significant occasion marking the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation is happy to be at these celebrations. The Great October Socialist Revolution which the people of the Soviet Union carried out 70 years ago has become, over the years, a symbol of the struggle of man to overcome oppression. The Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917 thus heralded a new era in modern times when it was clearly demonstrated that where there is unity, determination and even the will to die for justice, a bad and tyrannical system of government can be overthrown and a new one based on consent and democracy established in its place.

Mr. Chairman, this is precisely the experience which we in the National Resistance Movement have had in the last seven years since our Movement was founded early in 1981. In February of that year we started a struggle against a regime which was oppressing the people of Uganda.

This armed struggle which we waged for five full years ended in victory in January last year. We started therefore a revolution of which the National Resistance Movement is the torch-bearer. It is, Mr. Chairman, a revolution which has come to stay because one cannot stop a revolution which has already started.

Mr. Chairman, my delegation wishes to put it on record that the National Resistance Movement was the first guerrilla Movement to launch a war and win it outright against an existing government in post-independence Africa. This, Mr. Chairman, is something which all revolutionaries and those who believe in fighting a just war for justice, peace and democracy are and should be proud of. But, as one would expect, the example of the National Resistance Movement has dampened the feelings of many African leaders—the reactionary ones—but it has also given satisfaction and hopes to the old and the young who still live under oppressive regimes.

Mr. Chairman, as a revolutionary movement, the National Resistance Movement will continue to join other movements in the just struggle against neocolonialism, imperialism and exploitation of the weak by the strong. The National Resistance Movement will continue to support all those organisations that are struggling to free themselves from oppression. Above all, the National Resistance Movement will continue to give moral and material support to our brothers in South Africa and Namibia who are suffering today under the yoke of apartheid and colonialism.

Mr. Chairman, as we celebrate the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution of this great nation, let us rededicate ourselves to the virtues of peace. Let us strive to achieve real freedom for man from hunger, disease and want. In this regard, my country, Uganda, wishes to pay tribute to the two superpowers—the Soviet Union and the United States—for the efforts that they are making to achieve a reduction of nuclear armaments. Our country prays hard that such efforts should result in genuine disarmament so that the money now used in the manufacture of deadly weapons can be channelled into meeting the needs of developing nations. My delegation to this significant occasion particularly commends the stand taken by the Government of the USSR on this issue. Let us all, therefore, join hands and embrace the opportunities which meetings such as this one give to people who believe in one destiny of man.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, my country which we represent here hails, once again, the great advances which your great country has made since the Great October Socialist Revolution of 1917. My country salutes the spirit of solidarity, brotherhood and fraternity that exists between the Republic of Uganda and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

Long live the Great October Socialist Revolution!

Long live the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics!

Representative of Syrian Communists

Yussef FAISAL

Dear Comrade Gorbachev,
Comrades,

Today we, representatives of various political trends and ideological views, have come together on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution to exchange opinions on the basic problems confronting all progressive and democratic forces and the national liberation forces worldwide—the problems of preserving peace and averting a nuclear war, of humanity's survival and of guaranteeing the independence of nations. We hail the CPSU, which afforded us the opportunity to come to this meeting. The meeting will undoubtedly give fresh impetus to the new political thinking and to practical actions for peace.

On behalf of Syrian Communists and their friends we convey to the CPSU and to the Soviet people the warmest and the most sincere congratulations on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. The torch of the October Revolution began to shine again in perestroika and in the new political thinking, in the tremendous work which the Soviet leadership has continued to conduct since the 27th Congress of the CPSU till now. The fruit of this work is seen in the fact that a meeting between General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Mikhail Gorbachev and President Reagan of the United States has already been scheduled, and in the fact that accord has been reached on concluding a treaty to eliminate medium-range and tactical missiles.

We welcome these efforts. We see them as expressing the interests and aspirations of the nations of the world, including the Syrian and other Arab peoples.

On the other hand, we are greatly alarmed by the feverish activities of US imperialism and its strategic ally, Israel, and of other reactionary forces in the Middle East.

US imperialism is becoming more and more aggressive; its ambitions are not confined to the establishment of military, political and economic dominance in our region. The concentration of the naval fleets of the United States and its NATO allies in the Persian Gulf constitutes a dangerous precedent. And this is not the first act of this kind. It was preceded by armed aggression against Libya and Lebanon, and also by threats against Syria.

The United States pays for an enormous proportion of the armament of its strategic ally—Israel. Israel is now known to possess nuclear weapons. Actually the United States does not object to Israel possessing missiles with nuclear warheads, although this threatens the existence of Israel it-

self. Tel Aviv is prepared to participate in Star Wars. The Israeli occupation of Arab territories—the Gaza Strip, the West Bank of the Jordan, the Golan Heights and south Lebanon—is part of the joint American-Israeli policy; so is the stockpiling of huge quantities of arms in Israel and in the Persian Gulf countries, and the new military presence in the region. All this is the practical implementation of the neoglobalist, hegemonic policy of the United States.

We regard as our contribution to the peace effort the struggle we are waging against American imperialism and its ally, Israel, for the liberation of the occupied Arab territories, including the Golan Heights, for the right of the Palestinian people to self-determination, for the withdrawal of the naval fleets of the United States and other NATO countries from the Persian Gulf, and for the stationing of international forces to protect navigation there.

We are fighting against the nuclear armament of Israel, for turning the Mediterranean area into a nuclear-free zone, an area free of nuclear weapons. Using its military-political potential and giving every support to the bureaucratic, parasitic bourgeoisie, US imperialism, Zionism and other reactionary forces are conducting a frenzied offensive against the economic and social gains of the peoples, against their democratic rights and liberties.

Imperialism and reaction are counting on a split in the national liberation movement and inside some of its contingents, including the Arab Communist Parties. This hampers the struggle of the progressive forces on the main fronts and weakens their ideological power. It is necessary to urgently frustrate these intrigues through the joint efforts of those who have taken principled positions.

Peace is not merely the absence of war; it also implies the most favourable conditions for the life of the peoples, for their independent development. It is this reality which we feel with all our heart. The fight against Israeli aggression backed by US imperialism swallows up an enormous part of our country's budget. The Persian Gulf countries have to spend on armaments billions of petro-dollars which are pocketed by American and European monopolies. If only a part of these billions were channelled into the improvement of the welfare of the Middle East nations, good results would surely ensue. The oil wealth belongs to the Arab peoples and not to a handful of feudal families who are ruling Saudi Arabia and some other Arab countries. But this wealth is being distributed among the feudal lords and the American oil and military monopolies.

We Syrians build our policy on profound and correct understanding of the basic principles on which our meeting lays stress. The cooperation of the Syrian Communist Party with Baath Arab Socialist Party and other parties within the National Progressive Front is founded on the basis of

support for Syria's national anti-imperialist policy, for the policy of peace and detente, of support for national liberation movements and for friendly relations with the Soviet Union, of support for its peace proposals. We continue to direct our main struggle against imperialism, particularly against US imperialism, whose policy runs counter to the interests of our people and of all Arab nations.

American imperialism seeks to go on committing acts of aggression in the Middle East and in the Persian Gulf, against Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and in other regions of the world. And it is doing so in spite of the existence of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. Can one imagine what would have happened to the world and humanity if they did not exist? Hence the significance of the October Revolution and of the changes it has brought about.

I would like to take the opportunity to point to the significance of the enormous multilateral assistance that the Soviet Union is giving to Syria and other Arab countries, to national liberation movements, to the peoples of Afghanistan, Nicaragua and other countries. This help and support strengthen the confidence of the peoples of the world in their future, and enhances their militant solidarity.

Thank you very much, dear Soviet comrades, for what you have already accomplished and are accomplishing. Renovation and perestroika, and the new political thinking are bound to give rise to all manner of problems that will have to be resolved. The ideological struggle requires special efforts. Comrade Gorbachev's report at the ceremonial meeting at the Kremlin presents a bold approach to the solution of urgent problems. And I believe it is up to all our parties now to act accordingly in the specific conditions of our countries.

ВСТРЕЧА ПРЕДСТАВИТЕЛЕЙ ПАРТИЙ И ДВИЖЕНИЙ,
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